



THE  
AMERICAN  
COMMUNITY

WOODBURN & MORAN





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024









# THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

AN ELEMENTARY TEXT IN  
COMMUNITY CIVICS

BY

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

AND

THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

AUTHORS OF

"ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT"

"INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN HISTORY"

"THE CITIZEN AND THE REPUBLIC"

"THE MAKERS OF AMERICA" AND

"FINDERS AND FOUNDERS OF THE NEW WORLD"

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.  
NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON TORONTO

1927

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GRATEFUL acknowledgments are due to those who have furnished illustrations: to *Playground and Recreation Association of America* for A Neighborhood Circus, Coöperation in Making a Playground, The Hundred Yard Dash, Scene from a School Pageant, Boys Playing in a City Street, and Public Bathing Beach; to *The National Child Welfare* for the following posters: Make Your Quarter Buy a Quarter's Worth, We Cannot Have Privileges Without Responsibilities, Washington, Lincoln, How the Country Girl Earns, How the Country Boy Earns; to the *American Natural History Museum* for An Indian Tepee; to *Swift and Company* and *A. H. Lawrence and Company* for Pictures of the Leather Industry; to *The Delineator* for A Package Properly Wrapped; to *Paramount Pictures Inc.* for McVickers Moving Picture Theater in St. Louis; to the *National Child Labor Committee* for the poster Lack of Education; to the *Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor* for Old Men Making Toys; to the *National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor* for A Prison Workshop; to *Farm and Fireside* for An Orchard at Night, A Forest Fire, Kansas Fir, Sheepherding Scene, A Forest, School Bank, Girl with Prize Hens, Laundry Room on a Farm, A Farm near Dundee, Illinois; to the *Safety Institute of America* for A Sin against Safety; to the *Washington (D. C.) Safety Council* for Early Planting not Recommended; to the *Portland Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon, for People Applying for Automobile Licenses, and Boy with Prize Pets; to *The American City* for A Well Lighted Street and a State Reservation; to *Mr. Philip Walker* for the Silent Cop; to *Mr. Perry Walton*, Boston, Massachusetts, for Abraham Lincoln's Check, The Mayflower Compact, Worcester County Thief Detective Society; to the *Campfire Girls* for the Weekly Thrift Chart; to the *Department of Agriculture* for A Good and a Bad Road, Work of the County Agent, Consolidated School.

*The American Community*

COPYRIGHT, 1923

BY LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

COPYRIGHT, 1924

BY LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

First printed December, 1923

Reprinted, April, 1924

May, 1926; May, 1927

MADE IN THE UNITED STATES



# CONTENTS

## PART I

### THE COMMUNITIES AROUND US

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. COMMUNITY LIFE: LIVING AND WORKING TOGETHER . . . . .	I
II. THE HOME COMMUNITY . . . . .	13
III. THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY . . . . .	33
IV. THE CIVIL COMMUNITY: LOCAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	53

## PART II

### OUR COMMUNITY LIFE AND ITS PROBLEMS

V. MAKING A LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY . . . . .	67
VI. HEALTH AND RECREATION IN THE COMMUNITY . . . . .	91
VII. THE BURDENS OF THE COMMUNITY . . . . .	111
VIII. THE PROTECTION OF THE COMMUNITY . . . . .	129
IX. BUYING AND SELLING IN THE COMMUNITY: WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY . . . . .	145
X. KINDS OF MONEY: HOW CREDIT WORKS AND HOW BANKS SERVE THE PEOPLE . . . . .	165
XI. TAXATION: HOW THE COMMUNITY PAYS ITS WAY . . . . .	181
XII. THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY: LABOR AND CAPITAL . . . . .	199
XIII. THE PROBLEM OF THE IMMIGRANT: THE COMMUNITY "MELTING POT" . . . . .	217
XIV. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION . . . . .	233

## PART III

## THE GOVERNMENT OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

CHAPTER	PAGE
XV. THE STATE COMMUNITY AND ITS GOVERNMENT . . .	255
XVI. THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY: HOW THE NATION GREW. THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS CHANGES . . . . .	281
XVII. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET . . . . .	297
XVIII. OUR NATIONAL LAW MAKING BODY: THE SENATE .	315
XIX. OUR NATIONAL LAW MAKING BODY: THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES . . . . .	323
XX. THE JUDICIARY . . . . .	339

## PART IV

## AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

XXI. PARTIES AND ELECTIONS . . . . .	349
XXII. THE CITIZEN: HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES . . . . .	367
XXIII. IDEALS OF THE NATION . . . . .	383
XXIV. THE CITY COMMUNITY . . . . .	395
XXV. THE RURAL COMMUNITY . . . . .	427
XXVI. BETTER LIFE ON THE FARM . . . . .	439

## APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE . . . . .	v
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	viii
SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS . . . . .	xxiv
A PLAN FOR PRACTICAL STUDY OF CITY GOVERNMENT	xxx
INDEX . . . . .	xxxix

# THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

## PART I

### CHAPTER I

#### COMMUNITY LIFE: LIVING AND WORKING TOGETHER

One wintry day an old lady was walking along the street of a little city. As she turned the corner on a sloping sidewalk she slipped and fell on the icy pavement and broke her hip. She was lame the rest of her days. If someone had only put some cinders or ashes on the slippery walk this poor woman might have been saved from suffering and spared years of lameness. Had someone done her wrong? Was the community responsible for her injury? or, was she expected to look out for herself without any thought or care from anyone else?

We may think that if this old lady had been as nimble as a boy she might not have fallen at all. But because a ten-year-old boy can stand in slippery places or get across an icy pavement, is an old lady to be blamed for falling? Are the

rest of us not to blame for not making the sidewalk safe for such a person to walk on? If a boy falls on the ice it may be no great matter; he has not far to fall; and, besides,

Living together



INJURED FOR LIFE

Who is to blame?

his bones are more flexible and elastic and not so brittle. The boys may think they can take care of themselves in icy weather, and perhaps they can, if someone else has provided them with skates or good rubber shoes. But since the streets and pavements are for all, we all have to think about the safety and convenience of one another. In the community no one lives to himself, or for himself alone.

Once a man went out into the road-way to pick up a piece of barbed wire because he was afraid a horse might get tangled up in it. He had no horse of his own. Why, then, should he care and put himself to such trouble? Because he was thinking of others. He knew other people had horses and that the middle of a busy street was no place for a piece of barbed wire, any more than a sidewalk is a place for a banana peeling. That was a very *civil* thing for him to do. It showed he was a good citizen. He had *community spirit*, which kept him from thinking only of himself.

When a boy joins a football team he is expected to submit to *team work*. The whole eleven are expected to *play together* and to make their team into a good working machine. All push and hammer together, trying to make a hole in the opposing line, or to get their half-back around the end. If they do not all obey the signals and play together how can they expect to win? The other team will break through and their boy with the ball will be downed in his tracks. If a boy pays no attention to the signals but tries to be a star player all by himself, or attempts a grand stand play for his own glory, the chances are that he will lose the game and wreck the team. If one of the backs makes a good run and a touch-down, it will not be merely because of his own merit but because the *line holds* and he has good interference. No man on the team thinks of "going it alone." The game must be played each for all and all for each.

It is the same way in our civil life or our community life. We are all bound up together. We must work like a team and obey the rules, in the family, the school, the neighbor-



hood, the village, the social club, the township, the city, the state, the nation. All these are communities. Some are large, some are small; but each for itself has its rules and regulations, its privileges, and its special community life. *Let us think of a community as a body of people living together*



COÖPERATION

Almost everyone in town gave his services for an afternoon to help turn an unused lot into a playground. The man at the plow is the Mayor.

*under some terms of agreement, or bound together in some association or organization.* We may even think of the whole world as a community, with the nations of the world living together in peace and bound by laws and regulations agreed to by the nations in conference. The world is not yet a

well-ordered community, but some time it will come into better order and coöperation.

*Civics* is the study of these communities, a study of the ways and means by which people are organized and governed as they live together and work together in these various groups. It is a study of group life.

What is Civics?

As we study *Civics* we shall see the need of government in all community life. Government is a method of coöperation, a means of living together. *Civics* considers man as a *social* being. He does not live by himself but with others, in families, neighborhoods, and communities. Therefore he comes under restraint. He is free to do only what does not injure others. If a man lived all by himself on a lonely island, like Robinson Crusoe, there would be no community for him. The only need of government for him would be his own self-government. He could be a law unto himself and the ruler of all he surveyed. He could go his own way and govern himself and his realm without let or hindrance from any man.

Yet, even there, by himself on his lonely island, with only himself to think of, he would still have to be obedient to law.

Individual man is subject to natural law He could not live at all unless he observed the laws of nature, the law of life, and health. He would have to put his island home in order, find food for his body and shelter from the storm, and submit himself to the means and rules by which life is sustained. Even if a man has only himself to look out for he would still have to *govern himself* according to law. No one can get away from the necessity of law and order. Savage cannibals and wild beasts may know only the "*law of the jungle*," to kill one another and to eat one another, but with civilized man it is quite different.

If another man comes into our hermit's lonely island, as Friday came to Crusoe, then *social* law begins. Living with others makes man a social being Unless they sought to kill one another the two would have to coöperate. One might give directions and the other obey them, but it is certain that if

the two men wished to live together they would have to observe some law toward one another; there would have to be some rule of conduct or agreement between them. Otherwise they could not live in peace in one another's company.

Our *Civics*, however, is not concerned with cannibals, or savages, or shipwrecked sailors, or with hermits living a lonely life in the desert. It deals with civilized life; *Civics* deals with civilized communities with men, women, and children living together in society as we see them in communities about us. It deals with the benefits of government, the duties and

privileges of citizens, with the life of the communities, what we receive from that life and what we owe to it.

We see in all these communities — home, school, church, city, state, nation, — common purposes and common desires among the people. They all wish to live. They are all trying to provide for themselves food, shelter, and clothing. They want to provide for their children and give them some education. People want recreation and games and entertainment, such as are provided by summer outings, or in

Common community purposes.  
The need of  
coöperation



#### COÖPERATION OR WARFARE?

One day Robinson Crusoe came upon the footprint of another man. Would the stranger be an enemy or could they combine their forces against the wilderness?

athletic sports, in theaters and picture shows. People are working and producing things that other people need or desire. They are buying and selling, visiting and traveling. Some are building and repairing roads, while others are drawing railroad trains across the continent. People organize clubs and lodges and seek social companionship. Some



Everyday things, like shoes, require a great deal of coopération. They do not spring up ready-made. CATTLE ARE RAISED IN THE WEST and



TAKEN BY TRAIN to the Stockyards to be slaughtered. Their hides are stripped off and are sent to the tanneries to be turned into leather.





Then they come to the SHOE FACTORIES where hundreds of people are employed. Then other people take part in transporting your pair of shoes



to the SHOE STORE. This is only one small example of how much we depend upon other people for the necessities of life.

spend their time seeking health; some seek wealth; some seek knowledge; some are trying to promote learning and science; some seek beauty, refinement, and culture by promoting the fine arts, music, painting, architecture. Some are devoted to religion and morality, striving to teach people how to live the higher life. Some, alas! are preying upon



A NEIGHBORHOOD CIRCUS

It was surprising to see what a good time everyone had, and how much hidden talent for acting, by people of the neighborhood, was brought to light. Communities should play as well as work together.

others, like thieves and robbers, taking away the savings of honest men and the property they have earned.

The people in their community life are engaged in numberless pursuits, some in one thing, some in another. But all depend upon one another, for food, clothing, houses, amusements, for everything that they have. Picture to yourself the hard condition of a person in a community whom nobody will help in any way, with whom nobody will have anything to do. Nobody

Men depend on  
one another

will employ him, nobody will buy from him or sell to him. If everybody boycotts him how long can a business man keep open his store, or a lawyer keep up his practice? Such a man could not live in the community at all. He would be ruined. He would have to find another community in which to live. If we are to succeed in living together we must protect one another, and help one another, and strive to prevent that which would break up the community and destroy its happiness or make life miserable and unsafe. Right-minded people will stand for the community in this way and not try to live merely by themselves or for themselves.

The time was, before civilization began, when every cave man had to protect his own family with his own club. Often he had to kill another cave man, his enemy, in order to do it. It was a common thing for the strong to kill or oppress the weak. Now the community recognizes the rights of all. It wishes to give every man a "square deal," to give him a chance to live and have a home and to have this home protected from danger. It is, therefore, the business of the community to govern itself in such a way as to promote the good and restrain the evil; to prevent the things that will interfere with or break up the community life, and to establish a government that will make it as easy as possible to do right and as hard as possible to do wrong.

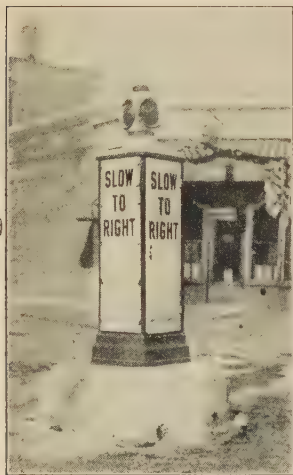
A rule of community life:

"Live and let live"

The people in the community cannot do this by quarreling and fighting with one another, or by allowing every man to do just as he pleases, unless he always pleases to do right, or what seems to be best for all. Community life, as we have said, is like a game. There must be leadership and direction, some captain in charge, some referee or umpire to settle disputed points; some plan and a common object in view. Then when a decision is made and a command is given there must be *team work* for reaching the goal in view. The people must all pull or push in the same direction. They must work to the same end.

"Team work":  
Community life  
is like a game

They must obey the rules of the community. If everyone sets out to play, or work, for himself without regard to others, or without any concern for the rules of the game or the welfare of the community, there can be nothing but strife and discord, disorder, and chaos. Nothing can be done. The very purpose of the community will be defeated. With such



"THE SILENT COP"

Because we believe in team work we obey the "Silent Cop" without hesitation.

conduct, men would tend to go back to the days of the cave dwellers when every man's hand was against every other man and every man was looked upon as an enemy to be killed or enslaved. In such conditions there could be no community life, no association, no school, no family, no home, no church, nothing to bind people together.

In a game every player must do his part. If he "lies down on the job"; if he fails to do his best; if he violates the rules, he may lose the game not only for himself but for his playmates and for all those who are cheering for his team. So every man has his task in the community. The success and happiness of the community may depend upon how the individual performs his duty. If a boy in school fails to prepare himself for life, he may become a burden to the community. If the watchman goes to sleep at the switch, lives may be endangered. If the train dispatcher does not send the right message, two passenger trains may come into collision. If the janitor oversleeps or neglects his duty and does not warm the school house, the children may suffer. If the miners quit work, how shall we keep warm? If the farmers all go on a strike, how shall we get food? If the railroad men all "walk



out," how can business go on? So it is, we all have our work to do for the community; we are "all members one of another," and we must all bear one another's burdens. So we study community civics to learn how men and women can best live together and work together for their own welfare as well as for the welfare of all.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Try to list all the occupations represented in furnishing you with the bare necessities of life, — food, clothing, shelter.

2. The people of the world depend upon each other more today than ever before. Show how this is true. What obligation does this put upon us as we try to live together?

3. How should nations act toward one another if a true world community is to be established? Is war between nations on the same moral plane as war between individuals?

4. Show how working and living together in a community is like playing together in a game.

5. What are the principal differences between the savage and the civilized man?

6. What is meant by community spirit?

7. List all the communities of which you are a member. What are the common purposes of each? In which of these communities are you a member by choice? Through no choice of yours? What obligations have come to you as a member of each? What are some of the rules or laws to be observed by members in each? Show how rules are necessary in each of these communities for the accomplishment of the purposes for which these communities exist.

### REFERENCES

1. Hill, Howard C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*. Chapter I, on "Myself and Others."

2. Carver, Thomas N., *Elementary Economics*. Chapter VII, on "Law and Government."

3. Rowe, Henry K., *Society: Its Origin and Development*. Chapter I.

4. See *Lessons in Community and National Life*, pamphlets of the United States Bureau of Education. These may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

5. For illustrative reading use Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, and L. S. Lyon's *The Western Pioneer*.

## PRONOUNCING LIST

interference	ĩn ter fēr'ens	restraints	rē strāntz'
hindrance	hĩnd'rāns	privilege	priv'ĩ lej
recreation	rēc rē ā' shun	chaos	kā' ős

## CHAPTER II

### THE HOME COMMUNITY

Let us begin with the home. There is where we all begin. Society begins there. It is in the home we first begin to live together. In the home is the family and there in the family we find the first government in the world. Here we find the head of the family, someone in authority. It may be the father; or, if the father be gone, the mother, or an older brother or sister. There is a head in authority and members under authority, just as in a workshop there is need of a foreman or manager to plan the work. Someone must lead and give directions and others must follow. So in the house the father and mother decide what ought to be done and the children learn to obey. If there is disobedience and wrongdoing there may be correction and punishment. Well-governed families are sure to make a well-governed community.

Each member of the family has his rights and duties in the home. Each child has a personality of his own, his own ways and character-

The family one of the oldest of institutions

istics, his own property, his own spending money, his place at table, his books and playthings, perhaps his own room in the house, or his garden plot, or his live stock on the farm. The parents make these gifts or allowances to the children.

As the parents have a right to require respect and obedience from the children, so the children have a right to expect certain things from their parents, namely, protection, food, shelter, and clothing. Children also have a right to expect that their parents

Rights and duties in the home

shall be just and reasonable, kind, fair, and impartial in their treatment of their children. Thus, in time, the children will come to know the reasons for the restraints placed upon them.

The children have a right to be trained in self-government, so that as they grow up they may be willing to place wise restraints upon themselves, obeying, not because they have to, but because they see that it is to their interest to do so.

The children in the home may have very different dispositions and characteristics, but if they are all true members of the family they will all have a common loyalty and a common tie that binds them to the common home. All are interested in helping one another, in keeping the family together until the children grow up and go out to make new homes of their own. In

Loyalty to family  
ties



A LARGE BIRTHDAY PARTY

To celebrate the ninetieth birthday of the man seated in the center of the group, seventy-eight of his direct descendants assembled at his home. There are five generations pictured here. Is not a family like this large enough to be called a tribe or a clan?

keeping up the family ties they always look back with fondness and affection to the old home; and when the "family reunion" comes, it may be that father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, uncles, aunts, cousins, and children and grandchildren, all meet together in one great family, or many families in one. There in reunion they renew family ties and recall home memories and renew their vows of devo-

tion to one another. Love of family and home is a strong tie to bind people together.

In the olden times when a family became enlarged by numerous descendants it was called a *clan* or *tribe*. A family included all the kin. The head of the family was called the *patriarch*, and the government of the patriarch was one of the first forms of government in the world. Sometimes the power of the patriarch, or father, was *absolute*. There was no limit to his power by any other authority. He could divorce his wife at his own pleasure and send her away from his home and take other wives instead. He had the power of life and death over his children. He could put them to death if they disobeyed or violated his law. In time this tyrannic and autocratic power of the patriarch had to be restrained. The father was taught that he had obligations and duties as well as power in the home and that he could not act by his unrestrained will. That is, the monarchy of the home has no right to be an unlimited monarchy, but the ruler of the home must govern according to law and reason, and finally by the consent and understanding of those who are governed. If not, the father who acts like a despot and a tyrant will have dissatisfied, factious, and rebellious children, and the larger community with its rights and interests may be compelled to step in to regulate the family community.

The government  
of the Ancient  
Patriarch

It is certainly true in our day that it is well-ordered homes and families that bind society together. It is the family, not the individual, that is the unit of society.

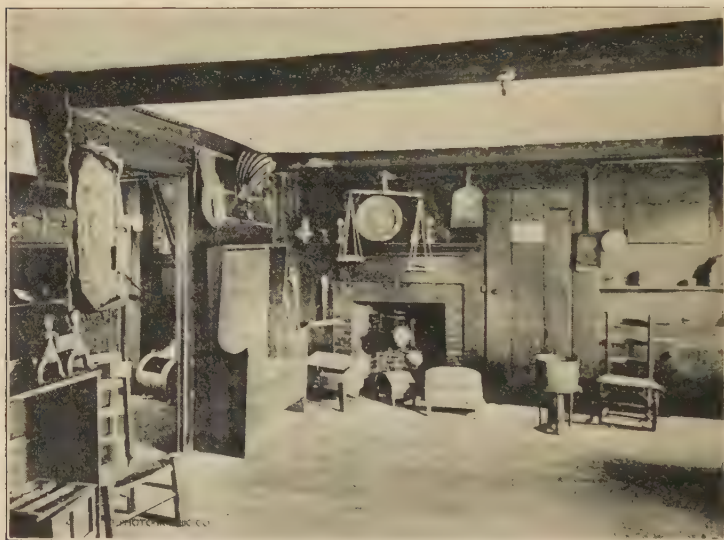
To break up the family and destroy the home is to destroy the foundation of the state. In the home we find our first loyalty, and the father and the mother and the boy and girl who are loyal to their home and faithful to their duties and obligations to one another have in them the essence of good citizenship. Yet, as we know, there are often strife and quarrelsomeness and disloyalty in the

The family is the  
unit of society



home. Compare the home of your grandparents and its influences upon the children with the modern home.

Two or three generations ago the home was the center of practically all the typical forms of industrial occupation. The clothing was home made and the raw materials were home spun. The houses were lighted with home-made candles. The furniture in large part as well as the house itself

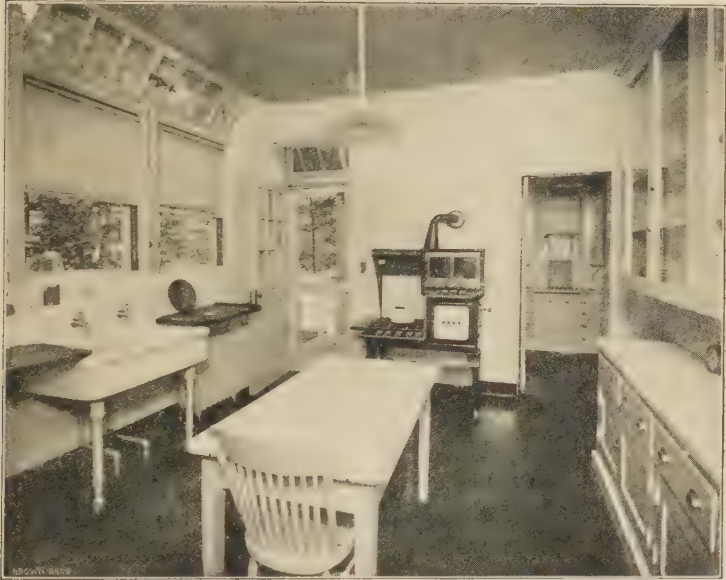


COLONIAL KITCHEN

The simplest home today has conveniences which would amaze the colonial housewife.

was home made. The food was produced at home. The few tools were either made at the home forge or at some neighborhood forge. In all of these activities the members of the family were the workers. From early childhood, the members of the family were gradually taught the various processes of making useful things. In short, family life then demanded coöperation, and a feeling of responsibility for the living of the home.

What about the modern home? How much of the food, or clothing, or furniture in your home have you had any share in producing? Would you like to go back to "the good old days"? What can you do today to contribute to the success of the home? What obligations come to you in return for the greater comforts you enjoy? What part has coöperation played in the development of the comforts we enjoy today?



MODERN KITCHEN

Contrast these two kitchens. Notice the difference in lighting, in heating, in the style of chairs, in the water supply, in cooking methods, and utensils.

Government first came about in the family to restrain men from evil ways and to punish men for wrongdoing. We are told that in the beginning of human society there were two brothers in a family. These brothers followed different pursuits and had different forms of religious worship. One day one of them in envy and wrath rose up and killed the other. He had committed the awful crime of killing his own brother.

Law and punishment for wrongdoing began in the home

For this he was punished. He heard the voice of God telling him that his brother's blood cried out against him from the ground, and he was sent out a fugitive and a vagabond upon the face of the earth. When this judgment was imposed upon him he cried out that his punishment was greater than he could bear.<sup>1</sup> Cain, the murderer, violated the fundamental law of society, the law of the family, the law of brotherhood, the law of social relations, the law of the community.

What was to be done with such a brother but to banish him from the home? On what conditions should he be allowed to return? When he was called to account he said, "Am I my brother's keeper?" In what sense was he his brother's keeper? Are we our "brother's keeper," in the community? Or, should every man attend to his own business, letting other people do as they please? Would you not arouse your neighbor if you knew his house was on fire? Or warn him against any danger that might threaten his life or safety? Would you try to regulate his habits if they do not interfere with the peace and order of the community? Where is the line between meddlesome interference and community interests?

Another early story is told of some older brothers who from envy and jealousy sold their younger brother into slavery to be carried off by a band of roving gypsies into a foreign land. They first thought to kill him and they threw him into a deep pit to die. But one of them repented and they sold the young boy into slavery instead. The older and stronger boys took from their younger brother the coat of many colors which the father had given him; they dipped the coat in the blood of a kid and took it to their aged father and deceived him by telling him that his favorite son had been torn by wild beasts. Such was the wickedness of men in those early days toward members of their own families.

Those were wild and lawless times. Men might plow and plant and till the ground and seek pastures for their flocks; but they were by no means sure that they would be allowed to reap the fruits of their toil. Wild robber bands would

<sup>1</sup>Gen. 4:9-13.

swoop down upon their homes and fields, burn their houses, seize their grain, and drive away their sheep and cattle. Men had to hide away their property or fight constantly to protect it. Robbery, pillage, and violence were common occurrences. There was no government strong enough to restrain and punish the murderers and robbers who roved in bands, no government able to preserve order and enable men to live in peaceful security. Could there be happy and peaceful homes under such circumstances?

In those early days the people lived in tents. They were nomads. The families or tribes wandered from place to place to find springs and pastures for their flocks. They had but little settled life, no fixed abodes. As they grew in civilization they settled down to a life of agriculture. They cultivated vineyards and grains and fruits. They established some kind of government and, for mutual protection, they came together to live in towns and cities. These had to be *walled* cities, for protection against robbers and marauders and attacks from hostile tribes. The gates of the city were closed at night and anyone left out in the fields or on the plain was likely to be robbed or killed or carried into slavery.

In our own country, in early pioneer days, the settler in his newly made home was also subject to all kinds of privations and dangers. When the colonists landed in America they found the Indians here, who were living a wild nomadic life in the open, fishing and hunting for a living. Sometimes the Indians lived in villages and cultivated the fields, raising what the colonists came to know as "Indian corn." Usually, however, the Indians lived a roving, unsettled, uncivilized life. They had no real homes. They did not build cities and roads, or establish schools, or have any settled form of government. The Indians had squaws, not wives; they had dug-outs and tepees, not real homes. They did not know the sacredness of

Conditions with-  
out law and  
government

Growth toward  
settled communi-  
ties

The struggle for  
civilized homes in  
America



the marriage relation. Their children belonged to the tribe, not to the family. Being without any home life the Indian civilization could establish no permanent, stable, national life. When they came into contact with a people whose chief purpose was to build homes for themselves and their children, the Indian civilization had to be changed or destroyed.

The colonists sought to live in groups or settlements as a means of protection against the Indians. As the colonists moved west their homes would often be remote from any settlement and would be more liable to Indian attack. When the early pioneers went to the West, beyond the Alleghenies, the log cabin homes of the settlers would often be far apart



PLYMOUTH COLONY — 1622

On the bleak first days of the white men in America, it was only by helping each other that our forefathers were able to endure hardships and conquer their wild surroundings.

and it sometimes happened that the home would be burned by the savages, the father killed and the family carried into captivity. In most of the pioneer settlements block houses were built at central places to which the people from the village and surrounding country could flee for refuge when the Indians were on the war-path. It was not an easy thing to establish homes in a new country.

Many of these early pioneer houses were barely good enough to give shelter from the storms of winter. Some of them had no floor except the bare earth. The chinking between the logs would at times fall out and let the winds of winter whistle through the cabin. The furniture was meager, — a broad board for a table, the mud chimney and fireplace the only means of heating and cooking; poles stuck between two logs of the cabin for a bedstead, on which a straw mattress or the bare straw might be laid for a bed. The nearest neighbor was far away, and the children had to walk miles to school, if any school was provided at all. However poor and humble the house might have to be, it was the first desire of every family to have a home, so that the children might be protected and brought up around the family fireside. For these pioneer firesides the rifle was often the main protection against wild beasts and sometimes against wild men, and often a means of hunting wild game for food.

Hard conditions  
in frontier homes

The well-known song says, "Be it ever so humble there is no place like home." Why is this so?

There is a saying that "a man's home is his castle." This means that no one has a right to invade it or disturb its privacy and peace. Not even the officers of the law have a right to do so, except by a process of law to which the home-owners have agreed.

Lord Chatham, a great English statesman, once said: "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter, the rain may enter, but the King of England cannot enter; all his force dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement!"

The founders of America were first of all home-builders. The colonists in Virginia did not succeed until women came to be mothers and helpers in the home. The Pilgrim mothers came with the Pilgrim fathers, and the English won against the French in America because they established settlements of homes in the new country, while the French were largely



Your home does not mean the kind of house you live in. And yet, the more civilized people are, the more they want to live in homes that are beautiful and convenient. The homes of the American Indians were called TEPEES.



They were inconvenient and unhealthful from our point of view. We call the Pueblo Indians a more civilized tribe, because they live in crude APARTMENT HOUSES, with clay walls and have community ovens built like



bee hives. The SHACKS of our Pioneers were simple, ugly houses, because making a living in the face of hardship and danger took all the time. But



now-a-days COMFORTABLE HOMES are not so difficult to get as in the days of the forefathers. We show our good citizenship by keeping them neat and clean. The beauty of a home does not depend on its size or cost.



explorers, adventurers, and traders, wandering and living with the Indians.

Children are dependent on parental care for a long time. Father and mother have to take care of them for a good many years. A little pig or a little calf is frisking around the day after it is born. But a little baby has to lie in the cradle or on the bed or in its mother's arms, a year or more before it can walk, and

Education in the home



A METROPOLITAN MAIN STREET

Think of these hurrying people, all busy with their own affairs in the crowded city life, yet all bound somehow by home ties and affections.

then it can barely toddle. Another year goes by before it can talk, and many other years before it can take care of itself. It is in this period of dependence that a child receives a large part of its education. It learns the language of its father and mother. It learns to imitate the habits of its father and mother and it naturally grows up to be like them, liking what they like and doing what they do. The father sets the pattern for the boy, the mother for the girl, and the boy and the girl grow up with pretty much the same tastes and ways of father



and mother. If the home is religious the children will likely grow up to be religious. If the father and mother read good books and magazines, the children are apt to acquire a taste for good literature. The talk at the table or at the fireside will go far toward shaping the lives of the children. If the boy and girl are required to do some part of the work of the household, they will learn habits of industry, promptness,



MAIN STREET IN A TOWN

Home ties and affections are equally strong in the small town, where streets, schools, stores, and churches meet the wants of the community of homes.

regularity, faithfulness, and responsibility. If there are brothers and sisters they will learn to give up to others and this will lead them to become unselfish. If they see in their daily lives, by the example of their parents, the qualities of candor, honesty, truthfulness, purity, loyalty, the children will develop these qualities in their own lives. "Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." "The Child is Father to the man." That is, the qualities and character a boy acquires in childhood, those he will show in manhood. So the education

which a child receives in his home during his early years becomes the foundation of his life.

Since the home is so important every effort should be made to preserve it and to promote its influence for good. It should be saved from the dangers that threaten it.

**Dangers to the home**

What are some of these dangers?

1. *Divorce.* If there is no love in the home between father and mother; if they distrust each other and quarrel with one another; if they are faithless and disloyal to the family, then they may go to the courts for a divorce, and the home will be broken up. The sacredness of marriage, oftentimes, is looked upon too lightly, and easy divorce has become a serious menace to the home and to the nation. Very frivolous reasons are given for divorce. In some counties in some states one marriage out of every four results in a divorce. How can a real home be established or preserved under such conditions?

If a father abandons his family and leaves his wife and children dependent on the public for support, should not the state bring him back and, if he is able, *compel* him to provide for his family?

2. *Decline of home ownership.* In many cities not half the people live in houses that they own. They live in flats or rented property where there is no inducement to improve their surroundings. The family feels that it has no fixed abode; it hardly knows from year to year where it is to live. The home is constantly changing or being upset. In the large cities there is a regular "moving time" when thousands of homes are changed from one settlement to another. Home ties cannot well become deeply rooted in such circumstances. What can be done to enable families to own their own homes?

3. *Poverty.* Many families live on the verge of destitution. Poverty haunts them. They have to live in tenements and slums. The father may be out of a job, or in ill health, or lazy, and he cannot, or does not, provide the shelter and food and comfort which every home ought to have. If the family

cannot rise above the poverty line it cannot exert the influence for good that it ought to have. Indeed it may become a *bad* influence, as it may send out into the community children who may have had no real chance in life, or who may be diseased, immoral, and depraved.

4. *Disease.* The home should be in healthful surroundings. The children should be brought up with healthy bodies. If father or mother grows sick and dies the children will be deprived of parental care, and instead of growing up in a good home they may run on the streets and grow up with bad companions, with bad habits, in bad surroundings. Therefore the state and the city should do everything possible to protect the health of the home.

5. *Modern amusements.* In modern life many children hardly come to know the true spirit of home. The members of the family are not together. The father is too busy with business and the club; the mother is too busy socially, and the growing boy comes to think of his home as a kind of "filling station," — a place for him to eat and sleep. It used to be in the home, the old-fashioned home, that the young folks had their gatherings, their parties, their dances, their merry-makings, their amusements. The parents knew where their children were and that they were under good home influences. Now almost all the amusements of the young people are found outside the home, in the ball room of the hotel, in the club room, or in the picture show, or in the bowling alley, or in the theater, or elsewhere with groups of other young people. The home life and surroundings seem to have lost their power. The family seems to have turned over the guidance of the children to the school and the church.

Here we see the need of attention by church and school and community, that provision may be made for innocent and helpful amusements for children of all ages. Play is natural to a child. People of all ages will seek amusements. It will not do merely to forbid amusements. Healthful and instructive games and entertainments must be provided. What

communities are doing in this direction is discussed in another chapter.

What is the meaning of the curfew bell? Is there any regulation in your city or town requiring children under a certain age to be off the street and in their homes after a certain hour?

Do you know of anything that Parent-Teacher's Associations are doing to improve the education and life of the homes?



GOING TO THE MOVIES

The motion picture theater is an important factor in American community life.

While it gives recreation to many, it also must be held partly responsible for taking parents and children away from home.

“No man liveth to himself.” So, no home exists all by itself. There are neighbors on all sides. Even in early pioneer times when homes were far apart, still there were other homes not so very far away. Every early pioneer was glad to have new set-

The neighbor-  
hood

tlers come into the community. Everyone that came, if he were any account at all, could help in promoting the growth and development of the country. When one of the new settlers began to build his log cabin, the neighbors came to the "log-rolling," to help him roll his logs into place. No one man could do such heavy work by himself. He in turn helped others. In like manner the men of the neighborhood came to barn raisings or corn huskings and the women to quilting parties. In this way, by neighborly coöperation, they helped one another with their heavy work; personal acquaintance and a good neighborly spirit were cultivated. Later, in this same spirit of neighborhood coöperation these early settlers and homeowners organized their rifle companies for protection against the Indians and horse thieves and other enemies of their peace and safety; they opened and improved their roads; they established neighborhood schools and contributed of their meager means to support the teacher and the preacher.

For these early settlers the seat of the United States Government was far away, perhaps five hundred or a thousand miles through the forest. About the only government these home-builders and neighborhoods knew was *local* government. They did everything for themselves by working together and helping one another. As their communities became more thickly settled they organized a State government and were admitted to the Union. They thus came into coöperation with many other communities and began to receive the benefits and burdens of larger and more complex units and systems of government.

Local government  
in pioneer life

From experiences such as we have related in this chapter, the benefits of government came to be understood. If families and neighborhoods acted together to restrain evil doers and to promote the common interest, — that made a government. If the homes and lives of men and women were to be protected and made secure, some form or activity of government was absolutely necessary. All could do for each what

No community  
life without law  
and order



each could not do for himself. The early American settlers firmly believed that every man had a right to life and liberty and to the property which he created, if he behaved himself well and did nothing to endanger the life and health and property of others. Men who live together in families and neighborhoods and communities have learned that they must respect one another's rights. They must preserve law and order. Order, or good conduct, is "Heaven's first law," and without



A NEIGHBORHOOD

No longer must neighbors unite against Indians, but the peace of a neighborhood depends just as much as ever upon the consideration its families have for each other,

law and order, civilized communities cannot exist or make progress in the world. The home, the church, the school, and the neighborhood community cannot be safe nor could they do their work without some civil government in the state to preserve order and to protect men in their work. So the state has come out of homes and neighborhoods and it exists to make known the common laws by which all are expected to live and to enable the people to govern themselves and to govern those who have shown themselves unfit for self-government.

The story of the home, the first of all communities, enables us to summarize the reasons why government exists :

1. It is to afford security, that people may feel safe in their homes, on the highways, and in going about their business. Why we have government
2. It is to preserve the peace, that people may live without fear of violence, or without constantly fighting to defend themselves and their homes.
3. It is to maintain order and to protect the life, liberty, and property of the people.
4. It is to prevent crime, by restraining and punishing criminals.
5. It is to secure justice between man and man, to protect the weak against the strong, to settle justly the quarrels of men by lawful means, to uphold the right and restrain the wrong. Government exists for justice, and justice brings peace.

To obtain these common blessings for every community, governments are established. The people who are governed now generally consent to the powers which these governments exercise. A government which does its work well is a great blessing and all good citizens should support it and pay gladly for the means which it needs in order to carry out its purposes.

But a government does not merely seek to prevent crime, keep the peace and preserve order, and prohibit evil things. It attempts to do for the people many good things which individuals cannot so well do for themselves. We shall see in the following chapters what these benefits are.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between a good home and a good house?
2. What are the essential features of a good home?
3. May a good home exist in a cheap house? Or a poor home in a fine mansion?
4. Is a hotel a home? Or an orphan asylum? Or an attic room in a tenement house? Show how the pioneer home provided for its own needs; contrast this condition with the number of people and

agencies that contribute to the comfort and needs of your home today. Is there a difference in these days between city and country homes in this respect?

5. How has the work of the household been made lighter by modern inventions and machinery? Name some inventions that relieve household drudgery. How is water brought to your home? How is the home lighted and heated?

6. If children disobey their parents, are they likely to grow up to disobey the laws of the community? Why?

7. Which is the more powerful motive in causing children to obey, love of right or fear of punishment? Is it a parent's duty to *make* a child obey?

8. The Declaration of Independence says that "all just government is derived from the consent of the governed." Is the government of a parent by the consent of the child? May a parent or teacher govern so justly and wisely that the child will gradually come to consent to its own government?

9. In what sense are all the men of a community brothers to one another? Does the law of the family bind them in their conduct toward one another?

10. Why are we bound to do good to our neighbor? Who is our neighbor?

### REFERENCES

"The Family and Social Control," in *Lessons in Community and National Life*. Leaflets of United States Bureau of Education.

Towne, Ezra T., *Social Problems*.

Earle, Alice Morse, *Home Life in Colonial Days*.

Gillette, J. M., *The Family and Society*.

Addams, Jane, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*.

Dunn, A. W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, Chapter IX, "The Home."

Read Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women*, Zona Gale's *The Neighbors*, John Habberton's *Helen's Babies*, Robert Burns' *The Cotter's Saturday Night*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

autocratic	ô tò krăt'ík	impartial	im pār'shal
monarchy	môn'ár kí	tyrannic	tī răn'ík
facious	făc'shus	nomads	nô'măds
rebellious	rē bēl'yus	parental	pā rēn'tăl
characteristics	kar äk ter ist'iks	menace	mēn'as

## CHAPTER III

### THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Out of the home and the church came the school. The time was when the father and the mother were the only teachers for the children. Later the minister or priest, who may have been the only educated person in the community, did all the teaching for the neighborhood. The clergyman was generally a teacher, as he was better prepared for such work and it was thought he had more time than anyone else during the week days.

Later there came the "old time schoolmasters." One of these schoolmasters came into a neighborhood, or he may have lived there, and he would get together what was called a "subscription school." That is, he would go about the neighborhood and induce the parents to sign his paper, or subscription, by which the father agreed to send his children to school for a few weeks or months in the year and to pay the master a certain amount for each child.

The schoolmaster may have been able to teach only the "three r's — readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic."

These old teachers did not believe in spoiling the child by sparing the rod, and so the ferule or the birch switch was at hand and whipping the unruly children was a common occurrence. Mark Twain tells how in his early school days in Missouri he was sent out to get a switch for the teacher to whip him with. Mark brought in a long shaving. Another boy was sent out for the switch. Many people in those days thought "lickin' and larnin'" went together.

If a community did not have enough people to have a school building or to support a schoolmaster, perhaps some woman who knew enough to teach the little children to read and write and spell, and to "say pieces" on Friday afternoon, would be employed to open a school in a part of her home. As the population of the early settlements increased and the communities grew larger, the government began to organize schools and promote education, either through the local government in the village or town or township; or the State passed laws providing for schools.

It may seem strange to us, but it is true that universities, colleges, and the higher academies and seminaries of learning were established *first*, and these sent out educated men — lawyers, physicians, ministers, teachers — who saw the value of education and who worked among the people for the education of others and the establishment of common schools. The common schools came later (except in the home and the church) and the movement for the education of all the people worked from above downward. Harvard and Yale came before the New England public schools. William and Mary College came first in Virginia, and the State Universities of the Northwest — Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin — were planned and established before any of these States could prepare for a system of public education in graded schools. It was university men who laid the foundations for the common schools. The State Universities of the Northwest were determined upon almost as soon as those States were admitted into the Union, Ohio in 1805, Indiana in 1820, and Michigan and Wisconsin at the time of their admission. Indiana in her first constitution of 1816 determined upon the "support of seminaries and public schools" and made it "the duty of the General Assembly as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University where tuition shall be gratis and

Universities and colleges came first in public education



equally open to all." The other States adopted the same policy and they have all been working toward this goal ever since.

Following these higher institutions of learning, public schools were organized, which, at first, were kept running for only a small part of the year. They were supported by public money received from <sup>Early public schools</sup> taxes. Some of the citizens and parents of the community subscribed additional money to keep the schools open a month or two longer.

Many of the teachers of these early schools were ignorant and poorly trained. Usually they taught only in the winter and during the other seasons they engaged in some other business. Their pay for teaching would not give them a living for the whole year. Teaching had not attained to the dignity of a profession or a regular means of livelihood.

Is teaching now a profession? Do you know teachers who must do other work to support themselves and families?

When regular public schools were established outside of the homes of the teachers, the school houses were of the poorest kind. They were generally log houses with the bare earth for a floor or a floor of rough boards. The seats for the children were rude benches without backs; or they <sup>Early school houses and furniture</sup> were boards whose ends rested on two logs, often so high that the feet of the smaller children could not touch the ground or the floor. There was no school furniture to speak of, no blackboards, no maps, no slates nor pencils, no ink nor paper.

When the classes were called on to recite, they came to the front of the school room and there all the children had "to toe the mark," or it may be a crack in the floor. There were no regular text books; each child brought what he had in his home. The school room was heated by a fireplace; a part of the room would be too hot, another part too cold. Sometimes the window panes consisted of oiled paper, as glass was too

# LACK OF EDUCATION

## THE VICIOUS CYCLE

Begin  
here



① Children have time only for a short period of inadequate schooling



② Lack of education keeps the worker from improving his condition



④ As a father the worker is compelled by circumstances and ignorance to send his children to work without sufficient education

③ Ready for the junk pile in the prime of life



### THE CHILD PAYS FOR HIS EARLY LOSS OF EDUCATION ALL HIS LIFE

expensive to be had, and in wintry weather the wind would whistle through the chinks between the logs.

Those were days of trial and hardship and poverty. Some communities were better than others. They were more thickly settled or had more wealth; consequently they had better school houses and better teachers, and more intelligent people

No uniform  
system of schools

and better citizens. Other communities were backward and poor, with poor schools and poor teachers, for only a few months in the year. The consequence was the children of the community grew up in ignorance and illiteracy. In many communities half of the grown people could neither read nor write. A low order of citizenship existed and crime and drunkenness were not uncommon. Each locality depended only upon itself and the richer and more progressive communities did nothing to help the backward ones. There was nothing uniform about the schools, no oversight, no authority to superintend and to see that schools were supported where they were most needed. It was discovered that in half the counties of a state more than half the voters were illiterate; they could not read the ballots which they cast nor learn from reading what the election contests were about. How could a democratic republic exist under such circumstances? Can a people be ignorant and free in a civilized state?

So we see the purpose of the school is to train in citizenship and thus to provide for the welfare of the state. Men and women cannot be good citizens unless they are intelligent, unless they can think and read and know what is going on. There must be educated and intelligent leaders for the people, men and women who understand and can explain the problems of the community and how to solve them.

Purpose of the  
school

We look to the school, as well as to the church, for training the soul of the community. Teaching boys and girls how to make a living is not enough. They ought to be taught not only how to make a living but *how to live*. It is not enough

to train hands and feet and develop the body. The mind and heart of the community must also be developed.

The free school seeks to make the people self-governing, to make education available to all and to give every citizen an equal chance in the race of life. So we live under a government of the people and by the people, and we know that popular government without popular education can "lead but to a farce or to a tragedy or to both," as James Madison once said. It will lead to tyranny and despotism or revolution. "We must educate or we must perish," said Horace Mann.

So the people of the whole country came to see that it was the business of the State to make laws about the schools, and to see that these laws were obeyed; to see that *public* schools were provided throughout the State and that money was raised by taxation to support these schools. This must be done in the poorer districts as well as in the richer ones, in order that the masses of the people may have education in the common schools. Education may still be carried on by the home and it may be promoted by the church, but it must also be supported by the State.

Has your State a compulsory education law? Or a truancy law? How can you justify compulsory education? Why should education not be left entirely to the church and the home?

The men who founded America were devoted to education. They were determined to provide for an educated ministry and an educated citizenship. As we have indicated, they established schools of higher learning, depending upon these to train teachers and leaders for the lower schools. Harvard College was founded in Massachusetts in 1636, when the colony was not yet twenty years old. The College of William and Mary was founded in Virginia in 1693; Yale College in Connecticut in 1701; Kings College (now Columbia University) in New

Education be-  
comes the duty of  
the State

Colleges and  
universities

York City in 1754; Princeton College in New Jersey in 1746; and the University of Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth College were established before the American Revolution. From these and many other colleges educated men went out through all the land and became the leaders, as we have pointed out, in establishing the common schools.

The Government of the United States came to the support of education very early in our history. In 1785, before the United States Constitution was made, the Congress of the old Confederation appropriated a whole township of land in each of the prospective States of the old Northwest Territory as endowments for universities in these States. At the same time a section of land in each congressional township was donated for common school purposes. This land was to be sold and the money received from it was to be preserved by the State as an endowment fund, the interest from the fund to be used for paying teachers in the common schools. This is known as the Congressional Township fund which was received from the General Government by the States of the Northwest. These States added to this fund from taxes and from other sources. Thus they established a *common school fund*, and like other States they began to stand behind their schools, helping the weak ones and promoting education of all grades from primary schools to a State university.

The public high school, in which tuition is free to the pupil, has been developed in America largely within the last fifty or sixty years. Formerly there were academies and seminaries sustained by private endowments or by charges for tuition, or by some church. These were attended by comparatively few, by boys whose fathers wished them prepared for college or by girls whose mothers desired them to go to a "finishing school," where they might be instructed in music and art, painting and sewing and English literature, and perhaps some French. In the larger cities there are still a number

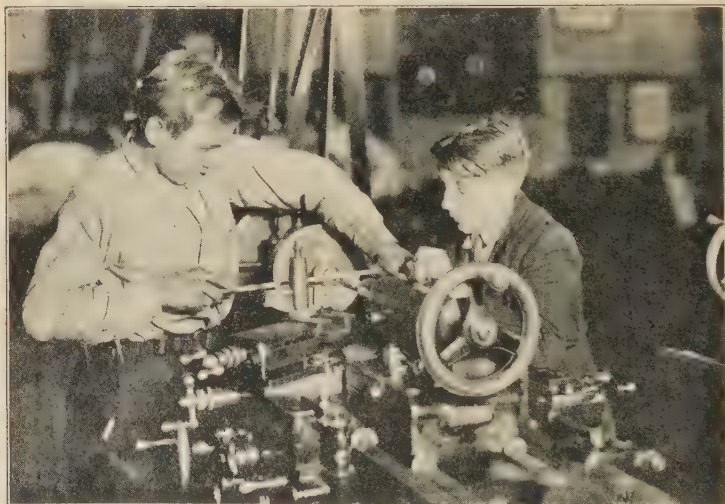
The United States Government has aided education

The high school.  
Private schools





Schools equip us for useful citizenship. Physical development of pupils is given constant attention and the regular GYMNASIUM periods are as important as any other study period. There are special plans of study for all



types of brains: business, MANUAL TRAINING, science, household arts —or college preparation. From school activities, both during the school day and after, there is much to be learned. One of the most enjoyable



forms of school activity is the SCHOOL PLAY, which affords interesting and instructive entertainment and often leads to the discovery of dramatic ability.



And the DOMESTIC SCIENCE class frequently provides entertainment wholly different but quite as enjoyable. But of even more importance to the pupil is the opportunity to make friends and to discover how pleasant it is to coöperate with others for the good of all.

of private schools of good quality, both primary schools and high schools, which fit their students for college or give them a good high school education. But these schools usually charge a high tuition and are attended, for the most part, by children of wealthy parents who wish for their children the distinction of attending a "select school." In most American communities the modern high schools have taken the place of the old private academies and seminaries, and these high schools have grown in such remarkable ways and



ADULTS IN A PUBLIC NIGHT SCHOOL

It is never too late to learn. The school is for old and young, and many school buildings are open sixteen hours a day.

have been sustained so liberally by public taxation that the more advanced high schools in many of our cities are better equipped than were many of the poorly endowed colleges and so-called universities of earlier times, and they are able to give about as good an education.

Public education is attended to by the States, not by the National Government. The United States has no national system of education. Each State has its own system, so there is no uniformity. Some states are more backward than others. While the United States does not manage or direct education in the States, it assists and encourages. There is a United



States Bureau of Education, which collects information from all the States, publishes reports and bulletins and educational addresses and sends out much information of value. Many think a Department of Education should be established and the Commissioner of Education should be made a member of the President's Cabinet, as Secretary of Education, but that has not yet been done.

The United  
States Bureau of  
Education



A CONTINUATION SCHOOL

There are many special schools, where those who have to go to work before they finish school may study business or technical subjects for a part of every day. Some industrial plants have Continuation Schools located in the factories.

The National Government, however, has voted money aid to vocational education in the States, by the Smith-Hughes act of 1917. This act creates a Federal Board for Vocational Education consisting of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the United States Commissioner of Education, and three citizens representing respectively agricultural interests, labor interests, and commercial and manufacturing interests. The law appropriates national funds to be given to the States for establishing vocational schools and for training teachers for such schools, but each State must appropriate

Vocational edu-  
cation. The  
Smith-Hughes  
act, 1917

an amount equal to that which it receives from the national government. The instruction is to be below college grade, to be given to persons over 14 years of age who are preparing for some trade or vocation. All the States have taken advantage of this offer and vocational boards of education are established in the States, as required by the law.

Where does the money come from to support the schools? Of course, from taxes, local taxes and state taxes, and from a common school endowment fund that may have been established in the past. Most of the money for the schools is raised by *local taxation*, a part of it is given by the State to the local community, especially to rural and needy communities. The United States Government is giving money now for *vocational* education.

The people consent to tax themselves for education. There is nothing they believe in more devotedly than education. Parents want their children to have the best, better than they themselves had. They think good schools are a good investment. Good schools help the community by producing better citizens, better order, a more elevated and refined standard of life. They help to bring good people to the community and thus add to its wealth and prosperity.

Over 750 million dollars a year are used in America on the public schools. Is this as much as is spent by the people for tobacco and chewing gum? Or by the national government for battleships and war armaments? What proportion of the tax money raised in your community goes for schools? Ask the Township Trustee or the City Treasurer. Do the people get the worth of their money? Are the schools as useful to the community as they ought to be? President Garfield once said that the essential need in a college could be found "with Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other." What did he mean by this?

How can good teachers be obtained? Is the salary received the chief consideration? What consideration should be shown to the teacher in the community?

How many normal schools are there in your State for the training of teachers?



Have you a Parent-Teachers Association in your community? What is its purpose? How does it work?

How are the teachers selected in your community? How are the text books selected? Are there uniform text books throughout your county? Throughout your State? Are the books furnished free to pupils? How are the school authorities chosen in your community? What is the evidence of active interest in the schools? If there is no such interest, how can it be aroused?

How is school money expended? Are there any ways by which the school fund may be increased without increasing the taxes?

These taxes are a burden to the community. Many people find it hard to pay their taxes and to meet all the other expenses necessary to keep their children in school. Parents work hard and deny themselves comforts and pleasures in order to provide food, clothing, shelter, books, and school privileges for their children. It would be too bad if the children neglect their opportunities, waste their time and get very little benefit from the provision made for them.

Making the most  
of school

How, then, can the pupils make the most of their school life? There is only one way, — by good, faithful, steady work. If a pupil in school does not learn how to work nor perform the duties expected of him, the chances are that he will not learn after he leaves school. School is a part of life. The same qualities and habits that bring success or failure in school bring success or failure in business or in a profession or in any of life's occupations. Young people in school are at a time in life when it is easiest for them to learn. They are *in training* for the exercise of these qualities and habits; later in life they become fixed, and it is hard to change. The way they "play the game of life" in school and meet tests and contests there will determine very largely how they get on in the tests that they come up against as soon as they leave school.

The pupils are members of the school, and they should strive in every way to build it up, to promote its success, so they can take pride in its achievements. They can help to

make known its needs and to create a sentiment in the community that will supply these needs. Loyal members of the school will be faithful and punctual in attendance; they will be ashamed ever to bring any dishonor upon their school or to allow their poor scholarship and neglect of their studies to bring down

Loyalty to the school



MANY HANDS MAKE LIGHT WORK

Because every pupil worked a little while, the grounds of this school soon were made very attractive.

the standing of their school among other schools. Their school loyalty will lead them to think first of the welfare of the whole school rather than of some little clique or club.

There are many school activities and nearly every student may "go in" for one or more of these and strive to bring honor to his school by his good work. He may "try out" for debating or oratory or journalism, for the glee club, for the

orchestra, for leadership in games and recreation, for basket ball, the track meet, or for other forms of athletics. You can stand by your school and "root" for your athletic teams, not by betting and boasting nor by any discourtesy to the competing teams, but by loyally supporting every honorable effort to win. If you go into these contests for the "honor of your school," you cannot bring it honor by playing "dirty ball" or by coarse

"School activities"



THE HUNDRED YARD DASH

An exciting moment for the "rooters."

and unmanly conduct. The members of the team or school can never think well of themselves nor will others think well of them if they win by dishonorable or tricky means.

Do you let your "school activities" interfere with your studies?

Have you regular times and places for study? What good study habits have you to suggest from your experience?

What is your most interesting subject of study? Why? Does the value of a subject depend upon your interest in it? If you dislike a subject, is that a good reason for dropping it? How can you overcome a dislike for a subject?

Whom do you honor most, a good athlete or a good student? Why? How may social and literary organizations help the school?

How may the home help the school? How does the school supplement the home? What is your object in going to school? Do you expect to go to college? Why?

Name some ways in which you can show loyal support to your school.

It is well for the schools to teach the boys and girls some trade, to teach them to work with their hands and eyes and bodies, as well as with their heads. Going to school should enable a person to make a better living, and it usually does. (See p. 71.) But

Vocational  
schools

even if the boys and girls are not learning a trade, the schools are helping to train their minds and develop their characters.

As a rule, the pupils who stay in school have a better chance in the world. They acquire knowledge and training by which they become more successful in whatever occupations they may wish to enter. Generally we find in life that the educated men and women are the leaders in nearly every community.

The aim of the  
school

And we must bear in mind that the end of education is not to make a living; it is life itself. With all of its activities and interests, its games and pleasures and friendships, we should not lose sight of the fact that the main purpose of the school is mental discipline and intellectual progress, and the acquiring of habits that go to build character. These come partly from one's games and social activities, but more largely from the mastery of the tasks and problems that come to the pupil in his lessons. This is the chief thing for you to do in school.

Boys and girls are educated that they may live a better life, physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually; and that they may be of greater use to the community in which they live. Since we are all to live together in one another's society; since we are all dependent upon one another for our living and are expected not only to look out for ourselves but

to help others, perhaps we may say that the great aim of the school is to promote the ability and disposition of its members to serve the community.

This can best be brought about by a school of the right spirit. Every good school has noble purposes and high ideals. *Service is the highest ideal.* Those who belong to a community must be ready to serve the community. He is the greatest who serves the best. It is "better to give than to receive." This is

The spirit of the  
school



"GO IT, JOHNNIE! ATTABOY!"

In other words: "We want you to win — You must win for our school!"

true not only in life but in school which is an important part of life. The boy or girl is the best member of the school who can do the most for it, who thinks most not of what he can get out of the school but of what he can put into it. In this way he gets the most out of it. And in future years he will think of his "old school" with gratitude and affection just in proportion as he gives to it, in his school days, respect, devotion, and faithful service in helping it live up to its purposes and ideals.

Thus the school is teaching the younger members of the



community how they may live together and work together for the common good of all. The school is not an institution which prepares for future living. It provides opportunities for the richest and most complete living *now*. Good citizens of the school make the best of these opportunities *now*. They enter whole-heartedly into all its activities. They live *now* as good citizens of their community. They are not merely *learning how* to be good citizens. They *are* good citizens, coöperating in all their common aims and purposes, with fellow students, with parents, with teachers, with local officials, with the State and Nation. They are acquiring the habit of coöperation and building up right attitudes, and these are the only guarantees for good citizenship in the future.

When the western wilderness in America was being prepared for settlement it was agreed in the *Ordinance of 1787* that

The Fathers of the Republic laid the foundations “schools and the means of Education shall be forever encouraged.” Education was deemed essential to good citizenship. Our fathers dedicated the land to free schools. Our pioneer fathers and mothers in all parts of America suffered trials and dangers, hardship and poverty, but they never wavered in their purpose to provide schools in order that their children might not grow up in ignorance. They founded colleges to prepare teachers. They wanted their children to know how to govern themselves, to learn the principles of good living, and to be able to make good and wise laws for their communities. They labored and we have entered into the fruits of their labor. As their conditions grew better their schools grew better, and American children are today enjoying far greater opportunities than their pioneer fathers could ever foresee. Can the children of today enjoy these opportunities without wishing to pass them on to others who may come after?

There are so many public schools in America today that every child, native and foreign born, may have a chance to learn to read and write and grow up into an intelligent citizen. Adults from foreign countries who have had no opportunity

to go to school may be taught in night schools and vocational schools, and they are made happy when they think that their children will have a better chance than they themselves have had. More than 20,000,000 children are in our public schools today, while more than 100,000 young men and women in America are seeking higher education in our colleges and universities. Graduates of these institutions, grateful for the benefits they have received, give money freely for their support, and the gifts of wealthy men to the cause of education have at times amounted to more than \$60,000,000 in a single year. Educators are striving to make the schools more useful. They are striving to train not only the mind and heart of the pupil, but the eye, the ear, and the hand, by drawing, music, carpentry, sewing, cooking. They seek to find out what kind of work the young pupils are best fitted to perform, that the pupils, when they grow up, may prove to be both self-governing and self-supporting. The people of America look to the schools as one of the saving forces in their national life.

An opportunity  
for every child

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of ways in which the school may serve the community.
2. Make a list of ways in which a member of the school may serve the school.
3. What are the benefits of inter-school athletic contests? Are there evils in such contests? What are the chief purposes of these contests? What kind of inter-school literary contests can you propose?
4. What connection is there between school life and good citizenship?
5. Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln went to school very little in their boyhood. How do you account for their success in life? Would Franklin and Lincoln have gone to school if they had had an opportunity?
6. How do universities and colleges serve the cause of the elementary common schools?

7. How can loyalty to your school be best manifested? How can it be cultivated? Name some manifestations of disloyalty.

8. Why should a man without children pay taxes for the education of other people's children?

9. What benefits come from long summer vacations? What would you think of going to school all summer? High school buildings and apparatus are now very expensive. Why should these be idle, or unused, all summer?

10. Do you like to go to school? Why? Do men like to work? Would they be happier if they had no work to do?

For references see the end of Chapters I and II.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

gradation  
gratis  
illiterate

grà dă'shŭn  
gră'tis  
ĩ lĩ'er át

compulsory  
appropriates  
despotism

kŏm pŭl'sŏ ri  
ă prŏ'pri ātes  
dēs'pŏt iz'm

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CIVIL COMMUNITY: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In addition to home and church and school, we have the state. We have family government, church government, school government, and some kind of government in all kinds of corporations, social clubs, and fraternal orders. These associations are all voluntary and a man may release himself from their control. But from civil government no man can escape. At least this is true while he lives the civilized life among his fellow men. Civil government is the government of the state or of some local division of the state. All these other communities operate under the laws of the state. Within the state is the real field of *civics*. Of it the home, the church, the school, and other associations are a part. There may be some men without homes; only a part of the people belong to the church, or take part in the work of the school; a man may belong to very few societies or to none at all; but all the people belong to the state, and are subject to its authority.

Some form of civil authority is very old in human history. It seems that people who live together in one another's society have always been used to it. It goes back so far that, as the lawyer says, "the mind of man runneth not to the contrary." It seems a thing so natural that people cannot get on without it.

When gold was discovered in California in 1848, men came flocking there from all parts of the world. There were all sorts and conditions of men from nearly every nation in the world. There were among them, of course, many bad men, lawless and criminal in their ways. There was no organized government. The Mexican government had disappeared and no American government had yet been set up. Most of the

Civil govern-  
ment over all

Civil govern-  
ment natural to  
men

people had lived under some form of civil government but even if they had not, they would have seen very soon that some form of law and order and government was necessary.

These settlers in California first organized a "vigilance committee," a kind of "law and order society," to try criminals and to hang murderers and horse thieves, and to restrain other offenders. They applied for a short time a kind of "lynch law" which is justified only when there is no other law available, when

there are no courts or law officers to execute the law and protect people from crime. The people saw that in some way they must act together to keep the peace and to protect themselves against murder and robbery and other crimes. Then lynch law immediately gave way to the law of the military commander with his soldiers, who protected the people in their right to peace and security and property. As soon as possible the people of California organized a *civil government*, adopted a constitu-

Why and how  
government arises


**NOTICE.**

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
**WORCESTER ASSOCIATION**  
OF MUTUAL AID IN  
**DETECTING THIEVES**


Held at the Central Hotel, Jan. 11th, 1883.  
THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS WERE CHOSEN FOR THE YEAR ENSUING.

TREASURER AND CLERK.  
**WARREN LAZELL.**

DIRECTORS.

Alpheus Merrifield, James Estabrook, Samuel Banister, Edward Earle, Joseph Lovell, Artemas Ward,		Asa Walker, Lewis Buelow, John F. Clarke, S. H. Colon, Eph. Mower, S. S. Leonard.
---	--	--

PURSUING COMMITTEE.

W. R. Wesson, Benjamin Walker, Joseph Lovell, Jr., William C. Clark, Levi Jackson, Cha's A. Harrington,		Asa Mathews, John F. Pond, Geo. A. Chamberlain, Jason Temple, Rufus Carter, D. W. Lincoln.
--	---	---

Any citizen of the City of Worcester, on application to the Treasurer, may become a member and receive a copy of the constitution and by-laws of the Association, and receive a copy of the same.

Worcester, January, 1883.

#### AN HISTORIC POSTER

This society was formed in lawless times in Worcester, Massachusetts, as a kind of Vigilance Committee. The picture suggests the wild chases after horse thieves to bring them to justice. Once a year, this society still meets, although its meetings now are wholly of a sociable nature.



tion, and were admitted as one of the States of the American Union. All this happened within two years.

This is a good illustration of the way an organized state and civil government come about. First a new country, liable to strife, violence, confusion, disorder, lawless disregard for the rights of others. Then some organization for mutual protection, with some leaders in authority; then, perhaps, the military leader and the soldiers, who preserve order and restrain

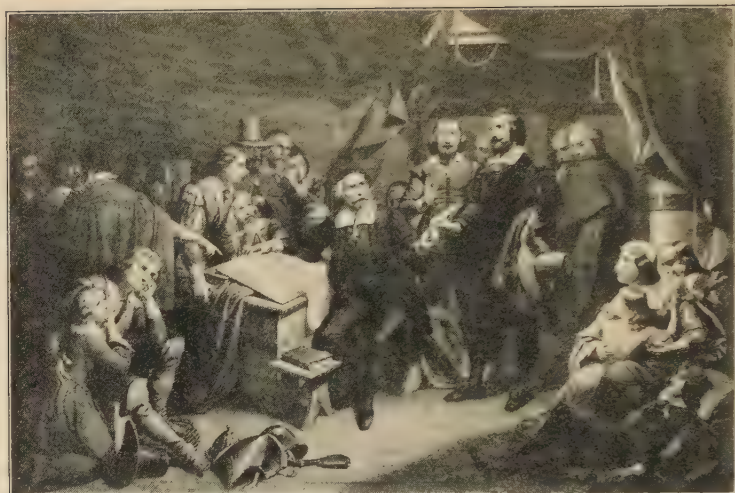
Military  
authority sub-  
ordinate to civil  
government



PIONEERS

Physical hardship worked havoc with many of the bands of pioneers who first went westward in covered wagons. But the dangers from Indians and even sometimes from other bands of travelers had also to be reckoned with, because they were passing through a wild country, without a government.

men from violence; and then a regularly organized civil government with constituted authority under which men may govern themselves and protect their rights and liberties. Military government may be efficient for quick action and for preserving order, but it is *arbitrary*, under the control of one man, whose commands are the law. In American communities military government is always regarded as temporary for some special condition or for times of war and public danger. The military is to be thought of only as an arm or agency of the



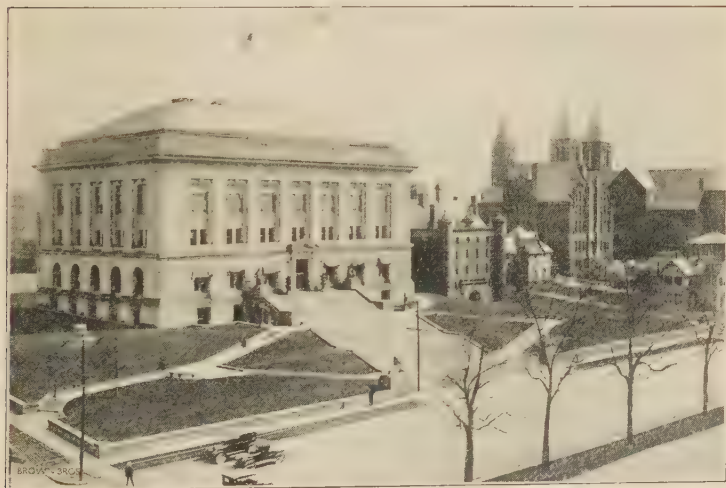
Before the Pilgrims landed, they signed a **COMPACT** in the Cabin of the Mayflower, in which they agreed "to make and support such laws as would seem for the best interest of all." Soon after they landed, they had their first



**TOWN MEETING.** In this historic **TOWN HALL** at Plymouth, Mass., town meetings have been held for more than two hundred years. As the population of the Colonies increased, there came a need for central government.



This resulted in GENERAL ASSEMBLIES like the House of Burgesses in Virginia, where Patrick Henry, one of the county's representatives, made some of his famous speeches. We do not now have a representative for



every county, in the State Legislature or in Congress. But the county is an important unit of civil government, with offices in the COUNTY COURT HOUSE. This one is at Akron, Ohio.

*civil* government and should always be subordinate to the civil authority.

Civil life in America began in local communities. The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth and for a time the only government they knew was among themselves, under the compact which they entered into in the cabin of the Mayflower. It was the same way at Jamestown, Virginia, and in other colonial settlements. In New England the people lived pretty close together, and their settlements, or civil districts, came to be called *towns*; while in the South the people lived farther apart, depending more on agriculture and large plantations, and their civil districts came to be called *counties*, or *parishes*. The divisions of the State of Louisiana are still called parishes.

These local communities had very little interference or over-control from the outside. The settlers acknowledged their allegiance to the King and the control of the English Parliament, but the colonists were so far away, and the people and rulers of England knew and cared so little about them, that they were left very largely to govern themselves, each settlement in its own way.

As the settlements and towns increased and the colonial boundaries came to be better defined, they felt the need of some coöperation and common rules. The different local communities sent representatives to an *Assembly* which acted like a legislature and proceeded to make some common provisions and laws for all the settlements within that colony. All the settlements agreed to be bound by these laws, since their representatives enacted them. Their purpose was to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare of all the settlements and towns.

Beginning of  
representative  
government in  
America

In this way representative government began in America. In 1619 the House of Burgesses met in Virginia, which represented the people in the different counties of that colony. It proceeded to make laws for the whole colony. Similar



representative assemblies, or law-making bodies, were soon meeting in the other colonies.

All these local settlements were made and their representative assemblies met under the authority of the King and Parliament, and charters were granted authorizing the "plantations," or settlements, to exercise certain liberties and to govern them-

How colonies became States

selves. It was the way in which the colonies would naturally act under the circumstances in which they found themselves. However, the charters recognized a Colonial Governor appointed by the Crown, and a Governor's Council (or upper house like a Senate) appointed either by the Crown or by the Royal Governor; and an Assembly representing the people. Gradually in this way and under this form the early colonial settlements grew into the colonial community with a government exercising authority over all persons and local communities within its borders. The original New England towns were not changed and they continued to govern themselves in the old way in all their local matters. But a *colonial state* grew up, which governed itself in all internal or domestic affairs (subject in a limited way to Crown and Parliament), which controlled all the people and parts of the colony.

When American independence came about, these *colonies* became *States*, without any change of form or powers, except that State constitutions, which the people adopted for themselves, took the place of the royal charters. Rhode Island and Connecticut, however, kept their old colonial charters for a good many years, Connecticut till 1818 and Rhode Island till 1842.

Thus, when the American State came into existence, it had control of local government within its borders. But it did not change local government very much. The State (or original colony) had come into being from a union of local communities. Then these thirteen State communities formed a union among themselves by which there came into being our national community. This is the way government came



about in America, growing from the local community to the State community, then to the national community, by the spirit of union and the need of coöperation. The State has always respected these local communities and left with them a large measure of self-government.

Let us now notice some of these local forms of government within the State.

You will notice that a State is subdivided into counties. The county is often the unit of representation in the legislature. The State may at any time (by act of

#### Counties

its legislature) divide a county into two counties or unite two counties into one. Sometimes the people of a county are allowed to hold an election to decide whether a county shall be divided or a county seat changed. But the legislature has the power to act regardless of such an election.

The power of the United States over the States is quite different. The Congress at Washington may not divide a State without the State's consent, nor unite two States without the consent of both. The States are more independent. They are not mere subdivisions of the Union, nor mere creatures of the National Government. They existed before the United States — at least thirteen of them did, and the later States have the same relation to the Federal Government as the original thirteen. The States have an independence of their own, but the legislative authority of a State is supreme over all its local bodies.

The State creates counties for the sake of ease and convenience in administering the laws and collecting taxes. No one needs to live very far from a county seat where court is held, where taxes are paid, and legal business may be transacted.

As counties vary in size and population, so do they vary in the ways in which they are governed. This depends upon the laws of the various States. In general we may say that there is a county court, or a circuit court for two or three counties, which is presided over by

#### County government

a judge who holds his court in the county courthouse. The town or city which has the courthouse is the county seat. There court is held and "justice is administered," with the circuit or county judge presiding.

Where is the county seat of your county?

In addition to the judge of the court there are a number of county officers. The most important of these are the *County Commissioners*, called *Supervisors* in some States, who have general oversight of the county business. They have charge of the county buildings; they purchase supplies and make contracts for the county; they are responsible for building new roads and bridges, and any new county courthouse or other buildings; they generally fix the tax rate and are responsible for the amount of money the county raises and spends.

The *Sheriff* is the peace officer of the county. He carries out the orders of the Court, arrests offenders, and executes the law to the best of his ability. He may appoint deputies to assist him, and in case of a riot or unusual disorder he may call on the able-bodied citizens near by to aid in restoring order; or the Sheriff may call on the Governor of the State to send the State militia to his aid.

The *Clerk* keeps a record of the proceedings of the Court, and he (or the County Auditor) acts as Secretary of the County Commissioners and keeps the minutes of their transactions.

The *Treasurer* takes care of the money of the county.

The *Auditor* takes care of the accounts, and checks up the books of the Treasurer.

The *Recorder*, or *Register of Deeds*, makes a record of the deeds, wills, leases, and other papers that deal with the transfer of *real* property, — that is, lands and houses, not personal property.

The *Coroner*, usually a physician, holds inquests or inquiries over the bodies of those who may have died by accident or in

some suspicious way. He summons a "coroner's jury" and seeks evidence as to the cause and circumstances of the death. The evidence, especially if it shows that some wrong has been done, is turned over to the prosecuting attorney for use in the courts. Usually in case of the death or removal of the Sheriff the Coroner succeeds to that office.



COMMENCEMENT AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE

The Sheriff has always been an important officer in local government. We usually think of him as enforcing the law, but sometimes he has social duties as well. For instance, it has been the custom for a long time for the Sheriff to represent the State at the Williams College Commencement. He leads the procession, carrying a white staff and wearing a special costume.

There is a *County Superintendent of Schools*, who has the oversight of the rural schools, outside of incorporated cities and towns, which have Superintendents of their own.

There is also a *County Attorney*, who is the lawyer for the county. The county is his client. He gives legal advice to the County Commissioners and appears for the county in any lawsuit that may be brought against the county or in any suit which the County Commissioners may wish to bring against any individual or corporation.

There is also a *Prosecuting Attorney*, sometimes called *State's Attorney* or *District Attorney*, whose business it is to prosecute persons for violating the law. The prosecuting attorney, the judge, and the sheriff are the law officers of the county, whose business it is to see that the laws are enforced and that criminals are restrained or punished.

Who are the officers in your county?

The town in New England is about what the township is in the South and West. The New England *town* is still the unit for local government in that section and it was **Town and town-** the first form known among the settlers there. **ship**

It consists of irregular districts of country containing a central village and perhaps other villages. The old *town meeting* is the gathering of voters once or twice a year, at which *Selectmen* are elected, who act as the town officers. The meeting also selects a town clerk, who keeps a record of the births, deaths, and marriages; a treasurer, a tax assessor, and a number of constables who carry out the warrants of the Selectmen, and, at times, collect the taxes. There are also school committees, overseers of the poor, health officers. All these officers are directly responsible to the *town meeting*. In the annual *town meeting* reports of the officers are heard, taxes are levied, improvements are ordered, and appropriations are made. The *town meeting* represents direct democratic government in which the people decide for themselves what their local government shall do.

The town meeting has always been a good training school in politics. There is often instructive debate. Anyone may ask questions, offer criticism, or propose new **Political training** policies and enterprises. A few men may do **in the town** most of the talking, but any voter has a right **meeting** to participate; and the spectators, many of whom may be young people under age, have a chance to see government in action where men are wrestling with local problems. The training received in the town meetings fits men to deal with the larger matters of State and Nation. Samuel Adams,

John Adams, James Otis, Josiah Quincy, Roger Sherman, and other New England statesmen of the era of the American Revolution had their early training in the old town meeting.

The New England town and town meeting went into a few of the Northwestern States, to which New England people migrated, — New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska. In some of these States one may still see the Town Hall out in a rural township, where the voters meet annually or at stated intervals to attend to the government business of the township. But, in the main, the townships of the West are the political or civil divisions of the county. These civil townships are usually the same as the congressional townships which were made into regular shapes of six miles square by the surveys of the United States Government when the public lands still belonged to the United States.

One of these congressional townships is made up of 36 sections, each section containing 640 acres. The civil townships may not always correspond in size and shape to the congressional townships, but generally they do. The congressional township system applies only to States west of Ohio, in States sometimes called "public land States," where the lands were surveyed by the Federal Government.

Look up the deed to some land and see how the land is described.

Township government varies in different States. Generally there is a township trustee, road supervisor, assessor, and justices of the peace to try petty cases and disputes. These officers are usually elected by the people. The trustee in some States administers the schools and has the care of the poor. In other States there are township boards to levy the local taxes and control expenditures.

We have noticed the town government of New England, the county government of the South, and the township in the West.



The Middle West was settled by people both from the South and East. In New York and Pennsylvania there had developed a kind of combination of the county and township government which is called the *county-township system*. In New York town meetings were held, but these were not so important as in New England. They elected supervisors, one for each township or village, to act as a board of control for the whole county. In Pennsylvania there were no town meetings, but the county commissioners regulated matters in the various townships. Farther west the county system prevails, but towns and townships exist with local powers of importance.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Explain why a person cannot escape being a member of the State and subject to civil government. Have you ever heard of "a man without a country"? Read Edward Everett Hale's story about such a man.

2. Explain why some form of orderly civil government is sure to come out of a disorderly state of society. Why may men not live without government?

3. Can you think of any instance in which emergency military government has been necessary to handle a riot or a strike or to avert public danger? In such cases who authorizes the sending of the militia to the scene of difficulty?

4. How large is your county? How many townships has it? Can you name your county officers? Have you the congressional townships in your county? How large are the farms in your county, on the average? Do the farmers own their own farms? Explain the terms: "deed," "mortgage," "commissioner," "license."

5. What are the advantages of local government? Suppose the people had to look to a government 500 or 1000 miles away for the regulation of all their local concerns, would local government be so well attended to? Would the people feel the same responsibility for their government? What is the benefit of such responsibility? Are law breakers more afraid of violating a national law than they are of violating a local law of the county or State? Why is this?

### REFERENCES

- Beard, C. A., *Readings in American Government*, Chapter XXIX.  
Fiske, John, *Civil Government*, Chapters III, IV.

Hart, A. B., *Actual Government*, Chapter X.

Hill, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chapter XVII.

Hughes, R. O., *Community Civics*, Chapter XVIII.

Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, Chapter IV.

*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Pamphlets of the United States Bureau of Education.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

levy	lěv'ŷ	allegiance	ă lě'jăns
prosecuting	prös'ě kūt ing	arbitrary	ăr'bŷ trâ rŷ
legislature	lěj'ŷs lâ tūr	vigilance	vŷj'ŷ lăns

## PART II

### OUR COMMUNITY LIFE AND ITS PROBLEMS

#### CHAPTER V

##### MAKING A LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY

We have heard of men who seem to think that "the world owes them a living," and they try to get a living without earning it. The world owes no one a living.

But every honest worker should have the right and the opportunity to *earn a living*. **The right to earn a living**

Every able-bodied man who is willing to work should be able to find some useful work to do, and it is the business of the community to help see to it that willing workers are not left without employment. The problem of the unemployed is one of the problems of organized society.

Idlers and loafers in the community are undesirable citizens, no matter whether they are poor or rich. Some people inherit wealth and sometimes they are mean enough to live on their incomes without doing any work or rendering any service to society. **The idle poor and the idle rich**

They spend their money only on themselves, wastefully and extravagantly. Society has no use for a man who merely consumes wealth that others produce and really earns nothing himself. No one has a moral right to enjoy the community and draw wealth from it without contributing something to it. Why is this true?

All the boys and girls in school are looking forward to the time when they will be able to earn their living. It may be "out in the world," as the boys say, or in the home, as the girls think of it. Some of them may be already earning a part of their living. **Essential conditions for earning a livelihood**

But usually while boys and girls are in school or at play, the father and the mother or the older members of the family are working to support them, to feed and clothe them, and to provide a home for them. The father works at his business, the mother at cooking, sewing, or keeping house at home; or it may be, the mother, like the father, is doing some useful work outside the home. It is right that little children and old people who are feeble should be relieved from the care and responsibility of working for their living. Children have a right to eat and sleep and play and go to school and to grow up like healthy little animals. Their time will come to earn and to take care of others. If they have to leave home and school while very young and go to work in shop or factory or mine, their minds become dulled, their bodies stunted, and they are deprived of their right to an education which will enable them later to earn a better living.

Boys and girls should know that certain factors are necessary for success in life.

There are several ways by which men get money or property or the means of living. They may inherit it, or have it given to them. This is usually considered good fortune, but it may sometimes be a misfortune. If gifts or inheritances lead one to think that he has a right to live without work, or without rendering any service to society, a bequest may be a real misfortune. It tends to weaken a man's fiber and purpose and undermine his character and make him worthless, wasteful, and selfish. One who consents always to live on wealth that others have earned cannot amount to much himself. People may sometimes *find* money or articles of value, but this is so rare that it is not worth mentioning. Money does not grow on the trees nor is it found in the streets, and the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow is known to be a myth. Nobody relies on getting a living by finding things.

#### 1. *Honest Work.*

The best way of getting money, or wealth, or position in the world, is to *work for it*. This is the good old-fashioned

way of earning by honest toil. This is the way the great mass of mankind live. They work for their living. One of the greatest blessings in life is to have good work to do, and one of the greatest of shortcomings is laziness and unwillingness to work. "If any will not work, neither let him eat." This is a Bible doctrine on work and life. Is it not a good doctrine?

There are some mean and unlawful ways by which men and women at times get money and property, to which no honest person will resort. We need not recite them here. Boys and girls who are preparing to earn a living should know the social law that the only honorable means by which an able-bodied person may get money in the world is to do something for the world worth as much as the money he receives. This is the principle by which the community should live.

If an able-bodied man is too lazy and good-for-nothing to work, should he be allowed to starve? Should such a man be compelled to work?

Do you see how the principle of honest service applies to school life? Are there dishonest ways of doing work, or getting credits, in school? Make a list of all the dishonest acts you can recall in school. What kind of reputation has one who does such things? Do you realize that one becomes known as an honest, honorable student only because each time he meets a new situation he meets it honorably?

It is honest toil that produces the wealth of the world and satisfies the wants of men. Nature has stored up much wealth for men's use and benefit, in the soil and forests, in water-power, and under the earth in all kinds of minerals, — gold, silver, coal, stone, lead, zinc, copper, iron, oil, etc. But these can be brought out and put to man's use only by the labor of men working with tools and machines. (See pp. 201, 202.) It is only by labor that we can build our homes and have light and heat to make them comfortable. By labor we get our food, clothing, books, jewelry, motor cars, factories, sports, and pleasures. If honest labor should stop, then, so far as our community life is concerned, the world "would cease to go round." We would then suffer hunger and death from



lack of food. It is faithful, honest work that keeps us all going. The man who gives to the world honest toil, of body and mind, in whatever field he is engaged, is the true nobleman among men.

What would be the result if the wants of men could be supplied without work, if everything we want were "as free as air"? In warm countries where no heat is needed for the homes, where little clothing is needed, where fruits grow abundantly, are the people as vigorous and as progressive or as highly civilized as in colder or more temperate climates, where men have to work for the comforts and necessities of life?

When the early colonists came to Virginia, some "gentlemen" came who were "above work," who looked upon honest toil as "degrading"; these wealth-seekers were adventurers who expected to find gold, silver, and precious stones lying about. Soon there was a "starving time" in this colony. What relation was there between these facts? Later, slaves were introduced to do the manual labor of the community. Did that system work well? Why? How did it degrade labor? Could "slave labor" and "free labor" exist side by side? Name some famous Americans who were brought up through humble toil.

## 2. *Good Health.*

Along with honest work an essential condition to earning a living is *good health*. Without good health earning a living would be uphill work. One cannot work or earn while he is sick, or if he is so weak in body and mind that he cannot endure any kind of labor. Good health is one of the greatest blessings in life; ill health makes one miserable and less effective.

**Rules of health** It is one of the first duties of the growing boy or girl to develop, or preserve, a good strong bodily constitution, and to keep the body in condition for work. The child is, therefore, entitled to good, wholesome, health-producing food; to good bodily exercise; to be permitted to breathe fresh air and drink pure water, and he has the right to be required to keep his body clean. If he observes these simple rules of health, — good food, good water, good exercise, pure air, and a clean body — the child is likely to grow up, not only with a sound body, but with a sound mind, and these will be

a good start toward making an honest living. For these reasons the child should have good opportunities for play and recreation. (See p. 104.)

Long hours of forced toil will undermine the health of children. In some sugar beet fields, cotton fields, tenements, and factories investigators have found that babies only five years old are frequently found earning wages. They are pitifully small wages, and the toil for such little children is stunting, cruel, almost inhuman. How can this wrong be made right? Since the States compete in industries it has been found to be almost impossible to make the matter right in one State till it is made right in all. This means national law on the subject. Recently the Supreme Court declared an act of Congress unconstitutional which was passed to prevent such child labor. We may now have to obtain an amendment to the Constitution which will give power to Congress to pass such an act. Public opinion will demand some reform in this matter.

Does your duty end when you have taken all possible care of your own health?

### 3. *An Occupation.*

In addition to honest toil and good health there will be other needs. He will have to find an occupation in which he can engage, — some trade, or business, or profession, or labor, to which he can devote himself. In these days there is a wide choice of occupation and in America boys are not made to feel that they must follow the trade or occupation of their fathers. They may choose for themselves. Sometimes boys or girls decide very early in life and they take such work in school or college as will best fit them to succeed in their chosen calling.

Boys are sometimes brought up and educated with a view to becoming lawyers, physicians, teachers, preachers, engineers; some boys are reared to the farm; sometimes they are apprenticed to master workmen to be taught some trade, —

that of the carpenter, cabinet maker, brick mason, plumber, tinner, painter, etc. These are very honorable occupations and quite essential to society.

But it is not safe to be "a Jack of all trades and master of none." If one is taught to do something well, he is pretty sure of being able to earn a livelihood, and that will give him honest independence, which has been called the mother of virtues, — "of courage, perseverance, self-

Occupation  
necessary

reliance, thrift, cheerfulness, and hope." A

man is likely to be a very poor citizen, perhaps a dangerous one, if he has no occupation, no business, or home or property, or means of earning a living. If he is a "roustabout" or street loafer, who does not know where his next day's living is to come from, or whether his family will have a shelter over their heads the coming winter, such a man will have very little *interest* in the community, and he will be ready to listen to messages of discontent and revolution. Such a man can add nothing to the stability of law and order and good government. He will lend himself readily to any lawless, destructive movement in the community, since he has nothing to lose and he may feel that he stands to gain by the losses of others. Having an occupation, a living, and a home is one of the first essentials of good citizenship.

Many of you will soon be choosing your life work. List the things one should know about himself and what he should know about his job before accepting it as his work. You should be watching the busy world with a critical eye to find a piece of work that needs to be done and that you need to do to be successful and happy.

#### 4. *Thrift.*

To make a good living one must be thrifty. Thrift is "good management in the business of living." It is the opposite of waste. A thrifty person will *save his money* and save his time, and he will use his time and money to good advantage. "Thrifty" does not mean *stingy*. A thrifty person may be very generous, and he is likely to have money and means by which to show his generosity. He will take

care of what he has. An idle, lazy, shiftless person never gets on in the world and is never able to be generous. One who works and saves may soon be able to buy a home or start a business and he then becomes of some weight and importance in the community.

While one is in health and is earning money he needs to save for a rainy day, because sickness may come or he may



A SCHOOL BANK

Many schools have a banking day once a week.

be thrown out of employment and he may then need what thrift led him to save.

Waste is the enemy of thrift. To be lazy or idle is to waste your energy. To work hard at something not worth while is also waste. To dig a hole in the ground and fill it up again may require hard work, but what is the use?

It is waste of time and labor. The thrifty person will try to do things that count. Old Sisyphus, the avaricious King of Corinth, was condemned in the lower world to roll a huge stone to the top of a hill and to fix it there;

Avoid waste

he no sooner got the stone to the top than it rolled down again into the valley below. So he had to work on, all the time rolling the stone up the hill. What harder punishment could one bear than to work hard and constantly at something that never accomplishes anything? Some people may work hard all the year, or for ten years, and at the end of the time they may be about where they were when they started. They have no will power to save what they get, or they spend their money foolishly in buying what they cannot afford.

Keep an account for a month of all you spend or that is spent for you. Are you earning any money now? If so, are you saving it, or helping to support yourself, or are you just "*blowing it in*"?

The thrifty citizen gets ahead and *wins the respect* of his neighbors. He has the confidence of the community. He can borrow money at the bank, if he needs to. He can back a public enterprise with his means. The thrifty man is not idle nor slothful nor does he spend all his time in pleasure.

We ought to listen to the wise words of "Poor Richard," that is, of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. In his famous *Almanac*, he taught his countrymen the principles of thrift. His birthday is January 17 (1706), and the week of January 15 to 21 is now "National Thrift Week." During that week the children in school and in home ought to be reminded of the sound common sense of Dr. Franklin, one of the wisest of men, as expressed in his familiar maxims. Here are some of them :

No man e'er was glorious  
Who was not laborious.

He that hath a trade hath an estate.

In every rank, great and small,  
Industry supports us all.

Avoid dishonest gain ; no price  
Can recompense the pangs of vice.

We would think it a hard Government that should tax its people one tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service. But



Idleness taxes us much more if we count the time spent in sloth. Sloth is like Rust, it consumes faster than labor wears. Do not squander time, for that is the stuff that Life is made of. Sloth makes all things difficult ; but Industry makes all things easy.

Laziness travels so slowly that Poverty soon overtakes him.

Drive thy business ! Let not thy business drive thee.

Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

God helps them that help themselves.

The early bird catches the worm.

Be up and doing ; He that lives on Hope will die fasting.

At the working man's house, Hunger looks in but dares not enter.

Diligence is the mother of Good Luck.

Have you something to do tomorrow ; do it today. One today is worth two tomorrows.

Handle your tools without mittens : The cat in gloves catches no mice.

A little at a time in diligence and patience will accomplish much. Little strokes fell great oaks.

A little neglect will do great mischief. For want of a nail a shoe was lost ; for want of a shoe a horse was lost ; for want of a horse the rider was lost, being overtaken and slain by the enemy. All for want of a horseshoe nail !

Beware of little expenses. A small leak will sink a great ship.

Buy what thou hast no need of and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessities.

If a man does not know how to save, he may all his life keep his nose to the grindstone and die not worth a groat.

If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as getting. What maintains one vice would bring up two children.

Extravagance comes from pride of appearance. Of what use is it ? It cannot promote health or ease pain. It creates envy. It hastens misfortune. What madness it is to run into debt for superfluities !

If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some. He that goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing.



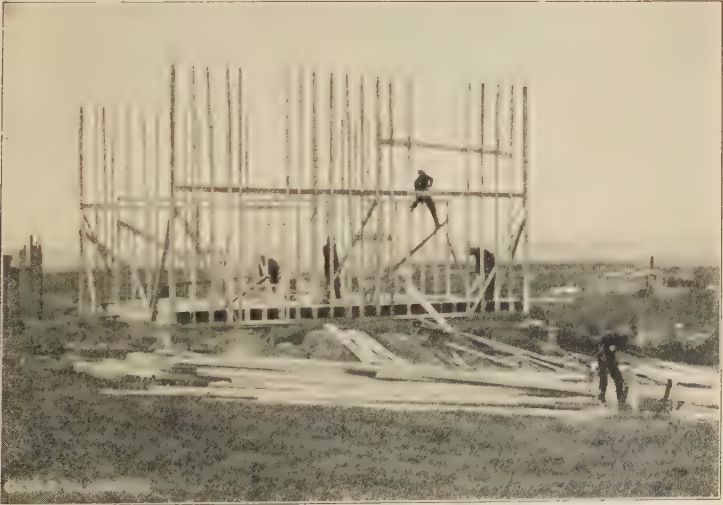
Mr. Black puts part of his pay into the BANK, where the amount is entered in his bank book by the Receiving Teller. This money, together with hundreds of similar deposits, is lent to others who apply for loans. Those who borrow



must return the money to the bank within a given time, with interest, and Mr. Black shares in this interest. His neighbors, learning of his bank account, respect him for his thrift, and HIS CREDIT IS GOOD in stores.



There is another good reason why Mr. Black has a bank account. In case of illness, or other emergency, if he needs ready money he can go to the Bank and **BORROW MONEY** himself.



By means of regular deposits his bank account grows. Every three months the bank pays him interest on the money he has in the bank, thus increasing his savings. And so, in time, Mr. Black **BUILDS A HOME**.

Poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright.

Franklin meant that a man must be something and have something to stand well in the community.

In Franklin's day debt was a dangerous thing. The person who lent money had authority to deprive the debtor of his liberty. He might put the debtor in jail or sell him for a servant. Indented servants were brought to the colonies who were bound out, or whose time was sold out, for a period of years, until their labor paid their debt, or, it may be, their passage money. So Franklin advised such people to be "industrious and free," or "frugal and free." His advice applied to all who would be free from debt; because "the borrower is servant to the lender."

Franklin's sage advice to boys and girls was to deny themselves useless and needless luxuries and pleasures, to save and have something laid aside, so as to be independent and to amount to something in the community. After one has saved some money he can put his money to work (on interest or by some investment) to make more money; that is, he can become a *capitalist*. Capital is stored wealth, or the savings of past labor.

Is it not true that many persons who are now poor or are living on small wages are those who have failed to practice thrift or have failed to improve the opportunities that have come to them?

Have you a thrift club in your school? If not, can you not organize one? See how much the children can save in their little banks within a year. The parents will help. Perhaps the children can earn money every week, or save some by "cutting out" candy, gum, or some of the "movies."

##### 5. *Wise Spending Habits: Self-Denial, and Economy.*

Economy consists largely in choosing what we shall have. It is giving up less important things in order to have more important things. A person, however saving and thrifty, may not have all that he wants. Practicing thrift consists largely in spending wisely what one

# MAKE YOUR QUARTER BUY A QUARTER'S WORTH



## Before Buying *Know*

What you really want  
What it ought to cost  
Whether it is of good quality  
Whether you can afford it



earns. One must have self-denial and the good sense to choose wisely what he will spend his money for, after he has earned it. One must choose between different desires. He must decide what want he will satisfy, whether he will buy a present enjoyment and sacrifice a larger satisfaction in the future. A boy in school may have a chance to take a job and earn wages. Is it not wiser to stay in school, deny himself and sacrifice his present wants for the sake of a greater opportunity and greater earning power in the future?

If the average wage earner gets \$600 a year and the average high school graduate receives \$1000 a year, how well would it pay a boy financially in the next twenty years to stay in school four years longer?

A poor boy's bare feet were on the cold ground in winter. A charity worker gave him a warm pair of shoes. The next day the boy swapped the shoes for an air gun. What can be done for such a boy? How can people be taught to buy what they really need instead of what may gratify a temporary or foolish desire?

It is told of a laborer that during the World War when wages were very high and he was making \$10 or \$15 a day, he bought for himself *six silk shirts* at \$15.00 apiece. When he was offered some collars he said he "never wore collars." Would a man who spends so foolishly when money is plentiful not be likely to come to want when times are hard? Why are people who suddenly come into possession of much more money than they are used to likely to waste and spend it foolishly?

We have spoken of honest work. That is a part of honest living. Honest work, honest play, honest study, honest tests, honest words, honest conduct, honest service, these are all a part of the successful life. Honesty is so important to true success in life that it needs more attention in our daily lessons. Behind one's occupation, behind industry and thrift and spending habits stands HONESTY. Straightforward honesty is at the foundation of true character. It means honor, uprightness, truth-telling. The honest man will not cheat, nor steal, nor lie; he will respect the property rights of others; he will be faith-

Honesty

ful to his trust, and other men will come to know what kind of man he is. The honest man "may look the whole world in the face." He is not afraid. He has nothing to conceal. He deals openly and frankly. He inspires confidence. Men trust him, and they are ready to promote him to places of honor and responsibility. It may be that some men are honest because it pays to be, but the men most successful in life and in business are so because their lives and characters are based on *truth* and *honor*, from which comes the *policy* of honesty and fair dealing.

A man may cheat in business; a boy may cheat at play and "get away with it," or in examination and "get by," or he may loaf on his job and steal his employer's time; or a girl may deceive her mother or her teacher and get credit for what she does not deserve, but the result will be weakness of character and failure in the end. The bad effect will be *certain*. There will be loss of self-respect, loss of reputation and good name, the surrender of the nobler qualities to an ignoble life. *Be sure your sin will find you out*. You are being tested day by day, in the home, in school, and in life. Your habits are revealing your character, as to your studies, your school spirit, your truth-telling, your whole life. When you go out into the business world you will have to pass the same kind of tests and examinations, just like those in school. The business firm that employs you will want to know all about you, how you care for your work, whether you have the right spirit, whether you are honest. School life and business life are *one life*. If you are to succeed at all you must begin to succeed now. If you keep on failing now there will be little use for you later.

Did you ever know of a community without a dishonest man? It is said that there are two communities in America where, if a man lies, cheats, or steals, he is at once sent away. This is done, not by the officers of the village, but by the citizens themselves. One of these places is West Point, the other is Annapolis. What is at Annapolis? What is at West Point?

Not long ago a boy who had won a cadetship in the Military Academy at West Point was caught by his classmates cheating in an examination. The matter was reported to the upper classmen. That same evening he was visited by a committee of cadets. They said to him: "You might as well pack your things. You cannot stay here. You don't understand the spirit of West Point, and you do not belong here." The youth realized clearly enough that he did not "belong" where such was the spirit, and the next day he promptly went home.

Honor at West  
Point

This fine spirit of honor is said to have been instilled in the cadets many years ago by General Sylvanus Thayer, who is known as "the father of West Point." But it has for a long time been adopted by the student body, and today it is never necessary for the faculty to take care of cases involving dishonesty.

The graduates of West Point and Annapolis carry this spirit of honor into the service of their country. They are educated to serve in times of war. But are the children of all our other schools not going "into the service of their country," in times of peace? Should we not make our school, as much as West Point is, a School of Honor?

Can you name some great West Point graduates who have shown the spirit of honor and honesty in after life?

How does a student who passes an examination dishonestly hurt the school? How does he hurt himself?

What special things can we do to make our school a School of Honor? In answer to this question children have answered as follows: "Let each pupil look only on his own work." "Let each pupil refuse to let anyone else copy his work." "If any pupil takes what does not belong to him, let us get other pupils to go to him and tell the offender that this sort of thing cannot go on in our school." "Let the pupil who discovers cheating warn the pupil who cheats that if he continues he will inform the teacher, but never inform the teacher until after he has given this warning."

What do you think of these answers? Will you give others?

TOM GODFREY, OFFICE-BOY, CASHIER, STOREKEEPER,  
CAPITALIST<sup>1</sup>

Tom Godfrey was a pupil in the eighth grade who decided to leave school and go to work. He got a place as an office-boy. Tom had often heard his father say, "Honesty is the best policy." Tom had also heard others say that this is not so. Tom wondered who was right. As for himself, he decided that it was wiser to follow his father until he was sure that his father was mistaken.

Tom was in that office a year before he was promoted. While he was there eight other boys came and went. At the end of the year Tom was the only one left. He talked it over with his father.

"How does it happen, Tom, that you are the only boy who has held on?"

"One boy left, sir, because he was not well, another found what he thought was a better job. Do you know, Father, every one of the others failed because he was dishonest?"

"Is that true?"

"Yes, sir. Pete stole pencils, and Joe carried off paper, and Jake was caught breaking into a desk, and those who didn't steal money stole time. They got in late, or they lied in order to go to the ball game, or they loafed on the job."

"What do you think about honesty now?"

"I think, Father, it pays — for an office-boy."

Several years later Tom was offered a position as a cashier. This meant that he would handle considerable money, and that he would have to be bonded — that is, money would have to be paid to a surety company for insurance against

<sup>1</sup> The following stories and much of the material which we have used on Honesty have been taken, by permission, from "The Honesty Book," — a "Handbook for Teachers, Parents and Other Friends of Children," by William B. Joyce and William B. Forbush, National Honesty Bureau, New York.

his possible theft. The examination was a severe one. He had to account for every month of his time since he left school. He had to prove that he always paid his debts. His employer was asked to say that he had never known him under any circumstances to be dishonest.

Tom passed. His record was clean, and he got the place.

"What do you think now, son?" his father asked him.

"Honesty pays — for a cashier," Tom answered promptly.

When Tom was thirty-five he wanted to buy a store. He had saved some money, but he needed more. His experience in business made him certain that he could repay it with interest, and use this capital to great advantage.

But could he borrow the money? When he went to the bank he found that he had to answer even more questions than when he was bonded. He had to tell everything that he owned and owed. He knew that his whole business history was being inquired into. He was married now, and he had reason to believe that somebody took the trouble to find out whether his wife always paid her grocery bills promptly.

As usual, his father was at hand with an inquiring face.

"Father," said Tom, "this morning I got a loan of \$5000 at the First National. Sam Dugan has a good deal more capital than I have. He asked for \$10,000, and the bank refused to lend him a cent."

"Why?"

"Well, they caught him in a lie right off, and they found out about that fire he had in his store at Little Falls. Dad," Tom exclaimed, "honesty pays — for a storekeeper."

Tom grew to be a rich man. He had a boy named Tom. Young Tom one day asked his father the same question that the older Tom had so often asked himself, "Does honesty pay?"

"Come to walk with me," was the answer.

As the two went down the principal street, the older man suddenly paused. "Standing here, Tom," he said, "we can read a great many street signs. There are not many here



now that were here when I came to this city twenty-five years ago. I can see only one of those older signs that is now over the door of a man who has been dishonest in business."

"Is that one man rich?"

"He has accumulated considerable money."

"Ah! I told you so, Father! Of course, it pays for a poor man to be honest, but sometimes — if a man is very rich —?"

"Wait, Tom. This man has some money — now, but if ever he gets in a tight pinch, he will find it very hard to borrow any more. He hasn't a real friend on the street. He can buy many things, but he can never buy the best thing, the esteem of good men. He is a low-caste man. His sons cannot get into the good schools, and they can never succeed until they have lived down their father's reputation. If I were that man I wouldn't ever want to sit down alone, because I should be remembering that if I got what I deserved I would be behind the bars. I am sure that man doesn't sleep well nights."

"Then you believe, Father, that honesty pays, even if you have money?"

"I have learned, Son," replied Tom, the capitalist, "after many years of experience, that, always and everywhere,

*Honesty is the Only Policy.*

It is very important for a business man to have *credit* at the bank. That is his most valuable asset, and he is careful to maintain it by fair and square dealing. He may find himself "in a pinch," or he may wish to make an investment, or to enlarge his business, and it would be a great advantage to him to be able to borrow \$5000 for a time. Will the banker lend it to him? On what will the man's credit depend? Is honesty the only factor involved?

Mr. Jones, a man of forty, came to the bank to borrow \$4000. He was a man of excellent morals and he had enjoyed a good income for fifteen or twenty years. The banker had known him a long time and knew him to be an honest

man. But when it was learned that Mr. Jones at the age of forty had no money or property of his own, the banker concluded that he lacked ability to manage his affairs wisely. He had not had determination or resolution, or strength of character to save any money. He had not learned to adapt his expenses to his income and had not shown that he could make any financial progress. The banker concluded that it would not be wise to lend money to such a man or to invest in his enterprise. Was the banker right?

Will honesty ever cause loss or sacrifice?

How do you feel toward a boy who cheats in a game? Do you like him? Could you trust him in anything at all?

Why should we pay what we owe?

What is the result to a man if he refuses to pay his debts? What are debts of honor? Did you ever know of a man who paid large sums of money which the law did not compel him to pay? Why should he do so? If a man gives up all his property to pay his debts and the property is not enough to pay all, is he then released from further obligation? Why do you think so? What is it to be a bankrupt? What is meant by "taking advantage of the bankruptcy act"?

Is it honest to contract a debt that you are not reasonably sure of being able to pay?

Should debts ever be incurred for the purchase of pleasures? How would this be "a dishonest abuse of credit"? Or, "a millstone around one's neck"? *o*

## 6. *Keeping a Budget.*

A thrifty person will not live at haphazard. He will know about what his income may be expected to be during the coming year and he will have some systematic plan for spending it. That is, he will keep a *budget*, which is an estimate of receipts and a plan for expenditures. We have personal budgets, family budgets, school budgets, city budgets, state budgets, national budgets, and any community or organization with an income and an outgo may have a budget. Receiving and spending without plan or foresight is likely to leave the treasury without assets or savings by the end of the year. One never knows where the money goes. He comes

out of a year as he went in, with empty hand or behind hand. Keeping a budget is having a plan for receipts and expenditures and living by the plan.

This involves keeping accounts, and when one keeps accounts he keeps some check on his spending habits. He knows when his bank account is low and whether he is saving any money month by month. He will discipline himself in order to keep matters within their allowances. Thus a man

WEEKLY THRIFT CHART OF THE CAMP FIRE GIRLS

	ALLOWANCE	GIFTS	EARNED	SAVED BY WALKING	MISCEL- LANEOUS	TOTAL	INVESTED	SAVED FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES	GAVE AWAY PRESENTS CHARITIES	CANDY	ICE CREAM	CARFARE	MISCEL- LANEOUS	TOTAL
SUN.														
MON.														
TUES.														
WED.														
THURS.														
FRI.														
SAT.														
Per cent of Week's Income invested:							Amount invested:							

When planning your budget, first think of what you do every day, and your usual expenses. That will show you what headings to put at the top of your chart. As you write down the amounts you spend you will notice how you could save.

comes to practice self-control, to understand better his own business, to know what he has to spend, and to cultivate regular systematic habits of living, and these things point out the road to a successful business life and to earning a good living. Thrift and saving and success in life are very largely a matter of habit. And character, good or bad, is but "a bundle of habits."

Make a family budget showing what per cent of the family income is spent for each of the following items:

House expenses, — rent, taxes, fire insurance, repairs.

Food or table expenses.

Clothing of all kinds.

Housekeeping, or labor about the house.

Life insurance.

Education and books.

Church and benevolences.

The physician and his medicines.

Travel.

Amusements and luxuries.

Savings.

What can you learn about the budget of your city or township? Of the State and Nation?

Are you given an allowance by your parents? How do you plan to spend it? Have you weekly earnings? Are you trying to save some of them?

Have you Saving and Loan Associations in your community? If you placed 25 cents a week in one of them, how long would it be until you had \$100? Inquire of the Secretary of one of these Associations.

Anyone earning a living and trying to save money to build a Good government home or and earning a establish living

<p align="center"><b>THE</b> <b>ATLANTIC</b> <b>INSURANCE COMPANY.</b> <b>HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.</b></p>	
No. <u>351463</u>	
<u>Josiah D. Whitney</u>	
Age <u>37</u>	
Amount \$ <u>3,000</u>	
<u>1/2 Annual Premium \$ 34.89</u>	
<u>Payable 17th Mar. &amp; Sept.</u>	
<b>Whole Life Contract</b>	
<b>Premiums Payable for Life</b>	
Settlement in Twenty Annual Installments in event of Permanent Total Disability	
<b>NON-PARTICIPATING</b>	
<i>In event of death or permanent total disability, notice should be given immediately to the Company at Hartford, Connecticut.</i>	
<i>It is not necessary for the Insured or the Beneficiary to employ any person to collect any benefit provided in this contract. Time and expense will be saved by writing direct to the Company or its agent.</i>	
8316 P. T. D. Ed. Mar. 1913 1-12-14	

#### AN INSURANCE POLICY

Some people put some of their savings into life insurance

himself in business depends upon the good government of the community every day of his life. He must know what he can rely upon. There must be order in the community,

his right to work must be recognized, his business and property must be protected. If mobs and riots and robberies were allowed there would be no encouragement to work and save. The saving of many years might be swept away in an hour. No one could plan for any time ahead. So the thrifty citizen is especially interested in the preservation of law and order in the community. He wants a stable government that can be depended upon to secure these blessings and to protect the equal rights of all its citizens under just and equal laws. No one should be given special favors or privileges under the law, but the law should protect all alike in their efforts to better their lives.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Are the American people extravagant or thrifty? Have you heard that a French family could live on what an American family throws away? Do you suppose this is true?

2. What uses can be made of the family garbage? How is it disposed of?

3. One man said that he had bought an automobile with the money he had saved by not using tobacco for twenty-five years. Could that be so? What *wasteful* habits have come under your observation?

4. Do the banks encourage savings in your community? How?

5. Have you a thrift club in your community? What can such a club do for its members?

6. What is the United States Government doing to encourage thrift?

*QNB*

### REFERENCES

*Lessons in Community and National Life*, especially "The Worker in our Society," "Finding a Job," "Money in the Community and the Home."

Carver, T. N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapter XV, "Ways of Getting a Living."

Tufts, J. H., *The Real Business of Living*.

Meadowcroft, *Boys' Life of Edison*.

Griggs, Edward H., *Moral Education*, Chapter X, "Education through Work."

Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography.

Hughes, R. O., *Community Civics*, Chapter XXIX, "Earning a Living."



Long, A. W., *American Patriotic Prose*, p. 347, "Service Leads to Success," by Frank A. Vanderlip; pp. 348-350, "Opportunity is Plentiful in America," by Charles M. Schwab.

## PRONOUNCING LIST

doctrine  
anti-social  
superfluities

dōc'trīn  
ăn tĩ-sō'shăl  
sū pĕr fīōō'ĩ tĩz

Sisyphus  
avaricious

sĩs'ĩ fűs  
ăv a rĩsh'űs

## CHAPTER VI

### HEALTH AND RECREATION IN THE COMMUNITY

We have spoken of the need of bodily health in making a living. Little effective work can one do while his body is weak or racked with pain. When one comes down on a sick bed, his work is ended until he can get well again.

Benefits and  
conditions of  
good health

The sick man is always a loser, because he not only ceases to earn, but his sickness is generally a heavy expense. Have you ever heard of a man who lived to be ninety or a hundred years old and was "never sick a day in his life"? "Lucky man!" you say. There have been such men and women, but their health was not always a matter of luck. It usually came from the life they led. Perhaps they were born with strong physical constitutions; but, no doubt, they lived under healthful conditions, breathing good air, eating good food, drinking pure water, taking daily vigorous bodily exercise, and getting regular refreshing sleep. You may be sure they did not *dissipate* and waste their bodily energies.

But a man's health does not always depend upon himself. It may depend upon his surroundings and on the way others live in the community. The community conditions under which he lives may deny to him all the essentials in good health, in food, air, water, exercise, and sleep. Over all these vital matters the man by himself may have no control.

What does nature require of a person in order to be healthy?

How may one person's carelessness and ignorance endanger another person's health?

So we must think of the *public health*, and of the duty of all the rest of us to give every man a chance to live healthfully

if he will. We may not be able to *make* him do so, but we may make it possible or easy for him. The community may make such regulations as will help to promote the health of all the people.

Nothing is more important to health than pure air. Smoke and grime, damp and foul air, are very harmful to health. If a school room is poorly built for ventilation the children will suffer. It will not be their fault but they will get the consequences of bad air just the same. The lighting and temperature of the room must also be watched, for eyes may be injured and colds contracted from ignorance and neglect in these matters. This is a matter for the attention of teachers and public officials. Also in the vital interest of food supply, water and milk supply, and the prevention of disease, the community has come to recognize its responsibility. Without wishing to interfere with the due liberty of the people, the public is seeking to enforce regulations that will promote the health and welfare of all and save people from the results of their carelessness and ignorance.

What are the rules for proper lighting in a school room? For ventilating? For heating? Does your school conform to these rules?

It is pleasing to note that men are living longer than they used to, and that the death rate is declining. Formerly epidemics raged with frightful loss of life. Typhoid fever, yellow fever, and smallpox were thought to be visitations of Providence for the sins of men. So they were, for the sin of disregarding the laws of health and life. It is now known that these diseases, and other fateful plagues, can be prevented if the people will only live according to sanitary law, if the community will only protect itself from the conditions which are sure to bring disease and death. Scientists have shown us that poisoned drinking water or a contaminated milk sup-

Community  
control

Controlling  
disease

ply brings typhoid fever; that filthy flies on the food may bear the germs of disease; that mosquitoes and insects carry malarial fever; that rats are dirty, poisonous vermin that not only eat enough food in America to feed an army of men, but may bring a deadly plague. It is estimated that every rat in the country costs the country \$2.00 a year in damage by fire and disease. So we must "swat the fly" and clean up the dirt and filth in which the flies breed; we must be "rough on rats," and utterly exterminate them; we must make war on mosquitoes by draining the swamps and the stagnant pools which breed them. Medical science and public education have shown how these diseases and causes of diseases can be prevented, if whole communities will act together.



FIGHTING THE MOSQUITO

Mosquitoes breed in still, stagnant water. A common way of killing them is to drain the swamp by means of ditches which keeps the water moving.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Are many of your schoolmates absent from school on account of sickness? What loss comes from such absence?
2. Have you ever had an epidemic of typhoid fever in your community? What was the cause of it? Has there been improvement in the community in this respect within the last ten or twenty years? If so, how was the improvement brought about?
3. Name five of the most common and most serious diseases. Can you find out from the health report of your community what diseases have caused the most deaths within a year?
4. How is the food exposed for sale in the stores protected from flies?
5. Has there ever been an organized "war on rats" in your county, with a bonus offered for rat tails? Would such a use of public money be justifiable?
6. How does the death rate of your county compare with that of

other counties? Of your State with that of other States? Why the differences?

7. Plan a "swat-the-fly" campaign and carry it through.

The health authorities have charge of the problem of fighting disease. There are State Boards of Health, County Boards of Health, City Boards of Health. But these officers can do but little without the help and coöperation of the people. If a contagious disease develops in a home, it is the duty of the home, or of its physician, to report the disease to the health officer. The home is quarantined as soon as possible, to prevent the spread of the disease. No one but the doctor or the nurse is allowed near the patient. These attendants may be made *immune* from the disease by certain precautions or by vaccination, though often the doctor and the nurse take their lives in their hands by their ministry to the sick.

If the disease is allowed to spread to the community and an epidemic occurs, the churches, schools, movies, and all places of public gathering may be closed and the people may be urged to stay in their homes or apart from one another as much as possible. People without suspecting it may carry disease germs to others. Precaution must be taken by cleansing and fumigating the houses and clothing of those who have been exposed to contagious diseases.

We live in a humane age. The time was, in some countries, when the weak were exposed, or placed out on the lonely mountain side or in the forest, to die of neglect; the crippled and helpless were often killed without mercy and put out of the way. Only the rich could get care and attention. Now States and cities and churches and private individuals, seeing the necessity of fighting disease, have provided splendid hospitals for the care of the sick, rich and poor alike. There the patients, especially the poor, can receive even better attention than they can in their own homes. They are provided with clean, airy, comfortable



surroundings, with good nursing and medical attention, and every provision for their care.

Think of the times when there were no hospitals! There are countries in which there are none now, in which millions of men and women and little children die without attention. Some churches now send medical missionaries into the mission fields and establish hospitals, seeking to cure the sick and crippled bodies of men as the first and best means of saving their souls.

"An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." The more important matter is to prevent disease. "Preventive medicine" is now the thing which medical science and health regulations are attempting <sup>Preventing disease</sup> to promote. How can disease be prevented from getting a start? Or, how can it be entirely stamped out in a community? Health is contagious as well as disease, and if all the conditions in a community are healthful, disease cannot find root.

Let us summarize the essential conditions of good community health:

1. *Cleanliness.* The streets should be clean, the sewerage system should be effective in carrying off the refuse; garbage and rubbish should be removed; sanitary drinking fountains should take the place of the common drinking cups, and the public towel should give place to some better way of cleaning one's hands and face. Spitting on the sidewalk and in public places should be forbidden by law. The drainage and plumbing in the home may be made subject to inspection by health officers, to see that sewer gas is not escaping and that neighborhood conditions are sanitary.

2. *Ventilation.* All school houses, tenement houses, theaters and public buildings where people gather in large numbers are now generally required by law to provide for sufficient air space and for good ventilation.

3. *Food Inspection.* Our communities, national, state, and city, are exerting themselves to safeguard the food of

the people. It was found that food and drugs were being adulterated and sold under false pretenses. The Pure Food Act, passed by Congress in 1906, is intended to prevent this. Medicines and foods can now be legally sold only under their proper labels. Oleomargarine may not be sold for butter; stale eggs may not be passed off as fresh; if the milk is watered,



COLLECTING RUBBISH

It is the duty of the community to see that regular collections of unsightly rubbish are made. It is the duty of citizens to prevent scattering rubbish about.

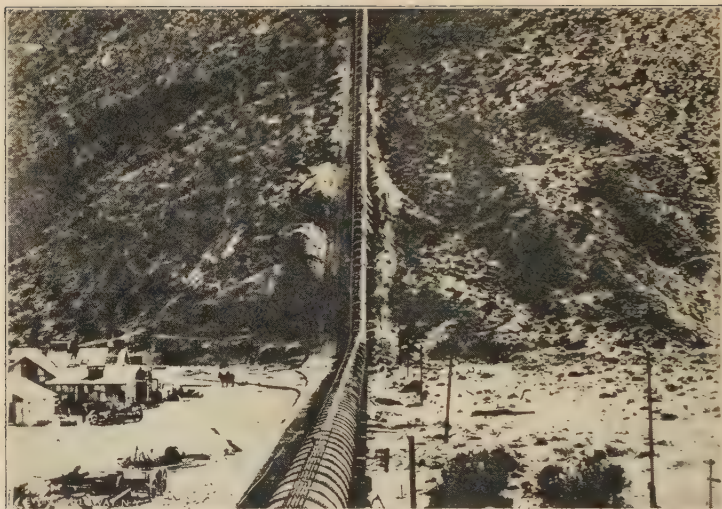
or if weights and measures are fraudulent, or if diseased meats, decaying fruits and vegetables are sold in the market, the market detectives and inspectors may find it out and the tradesmen who would thus cheat their customers and endanger their health may be severely punished. The stock yards, slaughter houses, and great meat-packing establishments of the cities are inspected and regulated by the United States Department of Agriculture. Most of this work in the cause

of pure food is attended to by the laws and officers of States and cities. The National Government acts only upon things which are the objects of trade between people of different States, that is, on interstate commerce.

4. *Water Supply.* We cannot live without water nor on poisoned water. Every city of considerable size has to face the problem of its water supply. In the country or in small towns and villages, wells and cisterns may do, if the cisterns are well built and the drainage is seen to, so that disease germs are not drained into the wells. Even in the country filtering or boiling the drinking water is a sensible safeguard.

In the great cities where people are huddled together by hundreds of thousands, there should be no wells or cisterns. For some cities the water supply must be brought from great distances. Chicago and Cleveland have great lakes at hand. Other cities bore deep artesian wells and pump the water to big water towers and tanks from which it is distributed by pressure through water pipes to all the homes of the city. Los Angeles gets its water from a mountain stream in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, by means of a reservoir 250 miles away. New York City has built a great reservoir in the Catskill Mountains and pure water is brought to the city from miles away through huge pipes which cross under the Hudson River. Such enterprises require a great deal of money and skillful engineering.

The resources of a great city are required to finance these enterprises. Even smaller cities cannot depend upon private companies to build and manage their water works. The people should have all the water they need, and the water rates they pay ought to be enough to meet the expenses of the water systems. It may not be desirable that the water works should be a money-making scheme for private individuals. Many cities, large and small, are coming to own their own water systems. Out of the water rates in a few years, by means of a *sinking fund* (laying aside some money every year for the purpose), the cities can, if the plant be well managed, pay off



Cities and towns are very careful of their **WATER SUPPLIES**. Los Angeles gets its water from a mountain stream 250 miles away. Many communities employ bacteriologists to test their drinking water regularly so that they

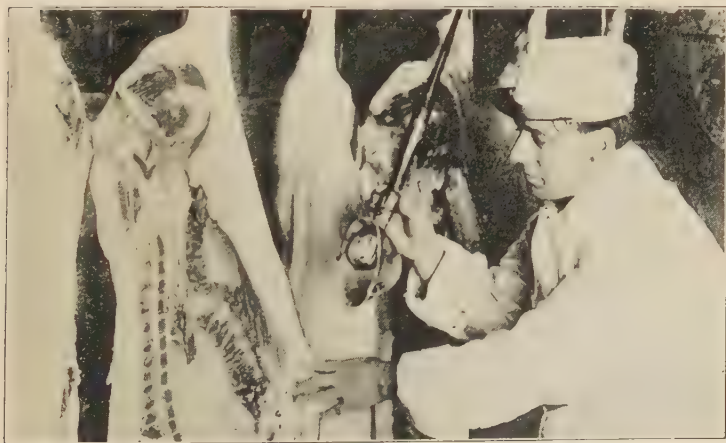


may be sure it is not tainted. Some cities and towns situated near the water provide a public park or **BATHING BEACH** where there is fresh air enough for everyone and recreation of many kinds. This is one of the greatest aids





in promoting public welfare. It is right that the community should take great pains to keep itself in good health. Where **STREET CLEANING** is done regularly people have better health and enjoy themselves more.



Another precaution against disease is the **TESTING OF FOOD** by government chemists. Canning factories and slaughter houses are inspected frequently to insure sanitary working conditions and pure materials.



the bonds which they have had to sell to get money for the construction of the works. The city income from the water rates may then furnish money for other public enterprises.

In many places provision has to be made to purify the water. If garbage or refuse of all kinds is thrown into a lake or river from which city water is drawn, great filtration plants have to be built; or the water may be treated chemically and thus be made clean and wholesome. By such means cities have rid themselves of much typhoid fever and the death rate has been greatly lowered.

Purifying the  
water

It has been said that "God made the country and man made the city." But investigations have shown what may seem strange to us, that the health of the cities is better than that of the open country. This is quite different from what it used to be when the cities were dirty and ill-smelling, with people crowded in the slums and slovenly tenement houses.

Health in city  
and country

5. *Abolishing the Slums.* It is too bad that cities have *slums*, — foul streets, where whole families, sometimes two families, are often herded together in one room. They have only bunks for sleeping places, no bathing facilities, no decent toilet rooms. Such places are full of disease germs. Yet clothes are made there, in "sweat shops" where cleanliness is almost impossible. In these sweat-shop rooms often people work who have tuberculosis or some contagious disease. The clothes they make are usually sent to other cities and endanger the health of others far away. So we see that slums threaten not only the health of the whole city but of other people outside the city. These slums are like plague spots in the moral and physical life of the city. Crime and immorality abound there. There is no home life, and the people who have to live there seem to have lost hope for better things.

The community must abolish the *slums*. It is a part of the problem of poverty. It must be recognized that the

poor and the honest working classes in the cities have a right to decent homes. The heartless landlord, or the "rent hog," who is willing to keep his rental property and flats in such a condition of squalor and dirt, crowding them together in unhealthful ways, can be exposed and punished. The city can require that a neighborhood shall be put into such condition as will enable its people to have some comfort and chance in life. Many cities are doing this. They are building model one-family tenement houses, with window space, air space, water supply, toilet and bathing rooms, with fire escapes for use in times of danger. The children are being taught good habits in the public schools, and we may expect to see in time that the "battle with the slum" has been won and that the people who once lived there have decent homes and have become good, useful, self-supporting citizens. To solve the problem of public health we must solve the problem of personal poverty.



THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE

In connection with the service of public health clinics, nurses go into homes where medical instruction is needed but cannot be paid for.

### QUESTIONS

1. What should be done if a contagious disease is discovered in your neighborhood?
2. What is a quarantine, and what are the difficulties of enforcing it? What precautions are taken to stamp out an epidemic in a community?
3. How do you account for the growth of hospitals in the world?
4. What are the conditions required for good health in the community?

5. What may be done to encourage cleanliness in the community? What is being done to keep your streets and alleys clean? Do rank and noxious weeds along the country roadside breed ill health?

6. What is being done to guarantee pure food to the community?

7. How are great cities supplied with water? Is this done by the city itself, or by private corporations? Which is the better way? Why? What are the processes of purifying water?

8. Why are natural conditions more wholesome in the country than in the city? Recent investigations have shown that the health of the people in the city is better than the health of the people in the country. Why has this come to be so?

9. Describe the evil of the slums. Are there any slums in your community? If so, is anything being done to get rid of them?

10. How are slum conditions a danger to the health of other parts of the city and to that of other cities?

11. Do you think of anything that ought to be done to improve the health conditions of your town?

12. How does your family dispose of its garbage? Should the city collect and dispose of garbage? How may the expense of this be met? Is garbage good for anything?

6. *Recreation.* Along with health comes recreation. The tired muscles and tissues of the body after long, weary hours of toil must be built up again, they must be renewed, or re-created. Factory toil is so tiresome and monotonous; there is so much of grime and grind in it, amid the noise and whirl of machinery, that the laborer needs relaxation and change. His body and mind hunger for amusement and recreation. Recreation means creating again, or making one feel fresh and new. For the tired body sound, refreshing sleep is "nature's best restorative." But the work hours should not be so long that one has time only to work and eat and sleep. The mind and body need amusement and play. We have all heard the old adage:

All work and no joy  
Makes Jack a dull boy.

Very true, but it is also true that

No work and all play  
Makes Jack a useless jay.

It is the *golden mean* we ought to seek; that is, good work and good play in proper proportions. A boy or man who plays all the time and is always seeking pleasure and amusement will amount to nothing in the world; he will be only a burden to the community for somebody else to support. There are professional baseball players who play ball in the baseball season; but when a boy goes into professional sport, that is his work, not his play. He will need recreation in fishing or boating, or in chopping wood or in something else. What is work for one may be recreation for another. In one sense recreation is a change of work. The best and most enjoyable play and recreation come only after good, hard, faithful work. If one is playing all the time, or is always seeking for amusements, he becomes tired and surfeited; he is *fed up*, and he is hard put to it to find some new thing to interest him. His feelings and sensibilities are deadened and he cannot really enjoy anything. The idle rich people are suffering all the time from this disease. What they need is recreation in downright, hard, honest, useful work. Recreation works both ways. Some people have too much work and need play for recreation; some have too much play and need work for recreation.

Certain it is, that anyone who invents a good, innocent game is a benefactor to his race. Boys and girls ought not only to be allowed to play but they ought to be encouraged and taught to play. Play is a great agent in their education. Play gives children good exercise and helps their bodily growth. It teaches them coöperation and respect for others. It teaches them to obey directions and to act by rule. A boy who plays well on a ball team is learning loyalty, comradeship, leadership, self-denial, courage, faithfulness, friendly rivalry, the spirit of fairness, the power to overcome difficulties; and he comes to know the need of *doing his best* and the joy of conquest and achievement. All this trains him and educates him to succeed in his work. It is moral qualities shown in his play that lead to his success in life.

If there is to be play there must be provision for play. Two boys could play "ante over" with a ball and a barn, but that is not enough. The children in the city are forced to play chiefly on the streets and it is dangerous to do so. The children in the country who live far apart on the farms must have their school centers or their social centers for play and amusement.

Provision for  
play



WHERE THE CITY BOY PLAYS

The city boy plays in the street. His games are frequently interrupted by automobiles and he may be run over or hurt.

Private houses and yards will not answer. There must be gymnasiums and parks and playgrounds, libraries, museums, and art galleries, band concerts in the open, and amusement rooms where the young people when they come together may be properly safeguarded. These the community must provide.

The public schools are doing much more in this direction than formerly. They are providing well-equipped gymnasiums. Interschool athletic contests are promoted. School



playing, indoors and outdoors, is directed by expert teachers who introduce new games and teach the children to play them, some games for the little children, others for the bigger ones; and all the children are encouraged, or required, to enter into the sports. Soon they come to like it and enjoy the fun. The weaker children grow strong, and the strong grow stronger.

Play and physical  
education



WHERE THE COUNTRY BOY FINDS FUN

In the country, a boy has room to play. He can fish and hunt and explore the woods. Many people think he is luckier than the boy in the city.

Organized play has now become a part of our educational system. A quarter of a century ago (1898) New York City opened up as many as thirty playgrounds and now 500 American cities provide playing places for young folks. The cities and schools are establishing playgrounds in as many neighborhoods as possible either in the public parks or about the school houses. It is desirable to have enough ground around the school house

Organized and  
supervised play

for athletic games and contests. Ball and tennis, contests in running and jumping, public bathing beaches with swimming and diving in places where such facilities can be provided, — all these are encouraged under a system of community recreation and “organized play.” The result has been that children have found new interests with new ambitions and new desires to excel, with a desire to grow strong and a willingness to play fair. Juvenile crime has decreased and the children come to their school work with new energy and interest.

A public school nurse is provided in many cities and counties whose duty it is to watch carefully the physical ailments of the school children and to give hygienic advice in their homes. Medical examination of the eyes and teeth of the children is freely given and their parents are informed what ought to be done for them. The schools have come to see the importance of the maxim, “a sound mind in a sound body.”

The whole community needs its recreation. In a crowded city public parks are like *breathing places*. To people who live in apartment houses or on crowded streets without room for yards and trees and flowers, these public parks are about the only means for out-of-door rest and pleasure. Here they can have their family picnics, enjoy the flowers and trees and the beauties of nature, with the pleasure of a row on the lake or stream. As a means of increasing its population and of making itself a good place in which to live a city can offer no better attraction than a good system of public parks. A number of small parks easily reached may be better than one large park of “magnificent distances.” But where the cities can afford it the large parks are also desirable.

The famous parks in the large cities are wonderful attractions and they are real and worthy monuments to the builders of our cities. Central Park in New York, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, Druid Hill Park in Baltimore, Belle Isle Park in Detroit, Lincoln Park in

The school  
nurse

Parks and  
playgrounds

Famous parks

Chicago, Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, Washington Park in Seattle, are some of the famous parks that make these cities attractive to visitors and desirable places in which to live. Everything is done to add to the beauty of these lovely places. Drives and walks and waterways are laid out; playgrounds are provided and within these fine large parks one



A COMMUNITY FIREPLACE

To several public parks, the Camp Fire Girls have given as gifts large brick fireplaces, for the use of picnic parties. Some of them were built entirely by the girls themselves.

may escape from the dust and grime and noise of the city, from the roar and whirl of the city traffic, and find rest and quiet amid the beauties of nature. What a calamity it would be if one could not find time from toil to enjoy the creation of nature and the re-creation of his own body and soul!

Many of the States are imitating the cities. They also are establishing parks. The beauties of nature are being pre-

served or restored ; forests are preserved ; beautiful scenery and natural wonders are kept from destruction ; inexpensive hotels are built and the parks are opened up by good roads and driveways and are made attractive to tourists. The love of nature and of the beautiful is cultivated among the people. Not everything is given up to the destructive inroads of commerce and material gain.

The National Government has done its part. It has turned many of the battle fields of the Civil War into beautiful and attractive national parks, — Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and the historic National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, the former home of General Robert E. Lee.

The National Government has also done much to preserve the natural wonders of the Continent. The Yellowstone Park in Wyoming and Montana, the Yosemite Valley in California, and the Grand Canyon in Arizona are among the wonders of the world. In the Yellowstone Park, with its millions of acres, the National Government has preserved the scenery and primitive wildness of mountains and lakes, waterfalls and geysers. Collected in this great Park, also, are native wild animals of the North American continent, the bear, the buffalo, the bob cat, the mountain lion, the deer, and the antelope. It is a resort to which thousands of tourists go every year to enjoy the wonders of nature.

While the nation is preserving these vast open spaces, places of wonder and grandeur, and the states are cultivating within their borders beauty spots and wild features of nature, and the cities are making great stretches of out-door life beautiful and attractive, so our home and school grounds can also be improved with flowers, shrubs, and trees. Beautiful homes and grounds help to make a beautiful city. Some cities have miles of well-kept avenues bordered with lawns and gardens that give the effect of a large and continuous park. When the out-of-doors

State parks

National parks

The appeal of  
out-door life



is made attractive, in country or town, the out-door life is cultivated. That means better health. So if we can keep the beauty of our countryside free from litter and defacement and destruction and from the annoyance of advertisement signs, the appeal to out-of-doors will be stronger, and more life in the country will help the cause of health and recreation.

### QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by recreation? How may a change of labor be recreation? Does such a change rest one? What is the difference between amusement and recreation?
2. In what ways does play help to educate a person?
3. Is play always a rest? Does not one who plays hard get very tired?
4. What danger comes from over-exertion in play? What is meant by an "athletic heart"? Which is the better play and recreation, to "play around easily" without any goal or object in view, or to *play hard* in order to outclass opponents and to achieve a victory? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Was the old saloon a means of recreation to any c'ass in the community? If so, what should there be to take its place?
6. Give some evidence of a general public interest in play and athletic sports. Should a school do more to honor a good athlete than a good student or a good debater? How is it in your school?
7. How many hours a day do you spend in sleeping? In eating? In working? In playing? What do you consider a fair distribution of your time for these engagements?
8. Tell how play has benefited you.
9. What is the difference between work and play? If you find pleasure in your work, is it then play?
10. What evil result comes from having nothing to do but to play and to seek for pleasure?
11. What provisions for play should be made by the community?



### REFERENCES

Consult *Lessons in Community and National Life*, United States Bureau of Education.

Howe, Frederic C., *The Modern City and its Problems*.

Mosher, E. M., *Health and Happiness*.

See *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, topic "Health."



## PRONOUNCING LIST

malarial	mà lā' rǐ ǎl	humane	hǔ mǎn'
justifiable	jǔs tǐ fǐǎ' b'l	squalor	skwǒl' ǒr
precautions	prě kô' shǔns	surfeited	sûr' fĭt ed
immune	ĩ mŭn'	museum	mŭ zē' ŭm
hygienic	hĩ gĩ ěn' ĭk	Chickamauga	chĭk à mó' ga
fumigating	fŭ' mĩ gāt <b>ing</b>	Yosemite	yô sēm' ĭ tē

## CHAPTER VII

### D. THE BURDENS OF THE COMMUNITY

The community has special burdens to bear which come from those who are not able to bear their own burdens. There are classes of people who are dependent upon the help and the charity of others. It is the duty of the strong to bear the infirmities of the weak.

I. First, we have the poor, those who are dependent upon charity. "The poor ye have always with you." This does not mean that we *ought* always to have them ; but that, as a matter of fact, we do have them. **Care of the poor**

It does not mean that we can never get rid of the poor. It may be that no community can ever entirely escape having a few disabled and unfortunate poor people, those who are poor from no fault of their own, and who have no relatives to care for them. For these the community ought always to provide, readily and cheerfully. But in our large and populous communities there are thousands of persons who are always living close to the poverty line. How can we remedy the conditions which bring this about? Can a community so live as to be without *able-bodied* poor who are dependent upon the charity of others or of the public?

Why are people poor? Some are poor because they are idle or inefficient ; or because they are shiftless ; or because they are *willing* to be dependent and have others provide for them. Sometimes they **Extent of poverty in America** are poor because they are the victims of hard economic conditions over which they have no control. It is almost unbelievable for so rich a country as America, but it is reported that there are in the United States over 15,000,000

people who are either in abject poverty or who live on the ragged edge of existence with hardly enough to keep body and soul together. If accident or sickness comes, they are objects of charity and relief.

2. There are the sick, who cannot afford to have a doctor or to buy their own medicines. For these there must be hospitals and doctors and medicines, supplied out of the taxes or



NO HOME, NO WORK AND NOT MUCH HOPE  
We become what we prepare ourselves to be.

public funds, paid by the county or city, or township, or some board of charities, or by some private organization for poor relief.

3. In the third place, we have the *defectives*. This term includes the idiot, the insane, the feeble-minded, the crippled, the epileptic, the blind, the deaf, and the dumb. These classes are among the unfortunates and their sad condition arouses our sympathy. Whatever may be the cause of their unfortunate condition, they

**Defectives**

deserve our sympathy and aid. The State is under obligation, out of a spirit of generosity, kindness, and mercy, to provide for their comfort, and, so far as possible, for their education.

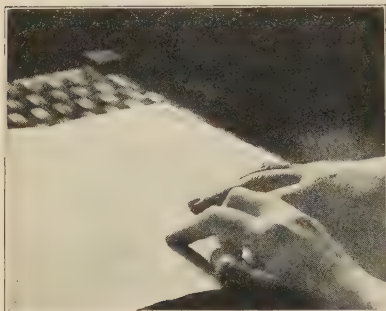
Those who are blind, deaf, or mute suffer a great handicap in life. Imagine yourself living all your days with your eyes closed, without being able to see the faces

of your friends or the beauties of nature. The blind, the deaf, the dumb

There can be no interesting "movies" or lovely things of any kind for the blind to see. Think of what you would miss if your ears were closed so that you never could hear anything, — no music, nor laughter, nor the conversation of your friends, nor the sounds in the streets. Those who can hear may think it would be a great blessing if they could have shut out of their ears the shrill whistles and loud clatter and rumbling and harsh noises of our city life. But think how it would add to the dangers of life, and to the difficulty of earning a living. One who cannot hear the bell or whistle of the locomotive at the railway crossing, or the "honk" of the automobile, cannot be safe if he is out alone. A child who is born deaf is seldom able to talk, since a baby learns only by hearing the talk of others. The deaf and dumb have a language of their own, a sign language, and we can communicate with them only by signs or by writing.

Wonderful things are done for the education of these unfortunate classes. The time was, hardly more than a century ago, when a blind person, if he could not be Education of the blind, the deaf and the dumb cared for in his own family, was left on the streets or roadside to beggary and to the mercy of the passersby. Now every civilized land and every State in the American Union have schools for the blind. With the blind the sense of hearing is unusually keen, their fingers are nimble and sensitive to the touch. By the use of these senses they easily learn to guide themselves about the streets; they learn certain handicrafts, — sewing,

knitting, crocheting, carving, woodwork, and the making of many articles which are sold in the stores for their support. They are taught to read and write by means of raised points or dots (the Braille system), and many of our standard books are prepared in this form for the use of the blind. Many of them acquire the equivalent of a high school education and



HOW THE BLIND MAY READ

Louis Braille, himself almost blind, invented the system of raised dots by which the blind read. With the tips of the first and second fingers of the right hand they feel the words, while the left hand keeps the place at the beginning of the line.

some of the blind boys and girls, by employing helpers and readers, make their way through our colleges and universities. If one so handicapped can overcome such obstacles to his education it is a lesson to us all in the use of our opportunities and our powers.

The same kind of provision is made for the deaf and dumb. Public institutions are established for their training, and they are taught some trade by which they may be able to make a living.

Much of the blindness from which people suffer may not now be remedied, but much of it could have been prevented.

**Misfortunes that are preventable**

Twenty-five per cent of our blindness comes from accidents which might have been avoided.

Much of it comes from the neglect of the eyes in childhood, from the "sore eyes" that are neglected, and from the lack of simple medical attention. One authority has said that fully two thirds of the blindness in America is preventable. Not half of the deaf are so from birth; nearly two thirds of this misfortune comes from disease, — scarlet fever, measles, diseased adenoids, or catarrh in the head. The problem of society is to decrease the number of these unfortunates.



The mental defectives are of two kinds, the feeble-minded and the insane. An insane person is one who is of unsound mind, who has lost his reason. He has no control of himself and knows not what he does, and is, of course, not responsible for his actions. An insane person may be delirious and violent and, therefore, dangerous. He must be kept in close confinement, in order to prevent him from injuring himself or others. Insanity is the result of a disordered nervous system and it comes sometimes from a great shock or sorrow, or from being overburdened and distressed. The brain becomes diseased, which may happen to the most brilliant of men or women. By change of life or by rest and quiet and gentle and soothing treatment the insane may sometimes be cured; or, if not, their trouble and suffering may be allayed.

Mental defectives: the feeble-minded and the insane

In early times it was thought the insane were "possessed of devils" and they were chained in dismal dungeons and cruelly treated. Now there are State asylums or institutes (more properly hospitals) where they are cared for, under the care of doctors who are specialists in the diseases of the mind. In these hospitals there are patients who are only slightly affected, who can be easily controlled. These may be trusted with some work to do, or allowed to live out of doors and work upon the hospital farm, and so living a normal healthy untroubled life they recover their mental health and balance.

How many hospitals for the insane are in your State? Where are they located? Do they take care of all the insane in the State?

The *feeble-minded* are those whose minds are undeveloped. They grow up in body but their minds remain in childhood. The worst of them are the idiots who have no mind at all, or no more than little babies. The *imbecile* is but little better than the idiot, with a mind like that of a child of five or six. The *moron* develops a ten or twelve year old mind, and he is likely to be the most dangerous of the feeble-minded.

Many of these feeble-minded are in the county poor houses,

where they get little attention and no special teaching. They all need special treatment in special schools. They should be kept apart from other people until it is known that they are reliable and safe. They should certainly not be allowed to marry and increase their own kind. Students of the subject have shown that feeble-minded parents are likely to produce feeble-minded children, and that many of our criminals come from the feeble-minded class. Society must try to protect itself from their increase. The famous "Kallikak family" illustrates this danger. Out of 430 descendants from a feeble-minded woman fully a third of them were mentally defective.

It is startling to think that there are over 300,000 persons in America who are mentally defective. The examination of our soldiers in the World War shows that some of them had minds in the class of the ten- or twelve-years old. There are special schools for the worst of these defectives, but these schools do not provide for more than one in ten of all who need their special care.

See if you can learn about the work of Dr. Samuel G. Howe for the blind and the feeble-minded. Tell the story of the noted blind girl, Laura Bridgman. Tell the story of the education of Helen Keller, who was born blind and deaf and dumb. How could such a person be educated?

Name the defective classes who need the special care of the community.

What is being done in your State for the defectives?

Another great burden of the community comes from violations of the law; or because some men and women will not live together with the rest and keep the rules. If working together in society were a game they would break up the game, or they would have to be put out. This is the burden that comes from crime and criminals. We have spoken of the importance of working and producing wealth, that people may have more and live better. Efficient and faithful work is the greatest single factor in producing wealth. This takes energy, grit,

Crime and  
criminals

thrift, foresight, patient toil, ability to plan. Labor power is the principal thing in making a people prosperous. It is chiefly labor that brings riches from the soil, and by means of irrigation the labor of man may make "the desert blossom as the rose." It is honest labor that builds cities and rebuilds them after the destruction of fire and flood and earthquake. The labor and genius of men working together have wrought wonders in the world.

Think of how Chicago was restored after the great fire of 1871 and San Francisco after the destructive earthquake and fire of 1906.

But there are people in society who do not help. They do not labor at any useful thing. They produce nothing. They prevent others from producing. They tear down what others build up. Instead of working together with their fellow men, they work against their fellow men and against the welfare of society. These are the criminals. "They steal, burn, kill and destroy." They have to be restrained.

This need of keeping criminals in check withdraws a large part of our force from useful and productive work. We must have an army of policemen, constables, magistrates, and jailers. These protectors of society, who render a good service, could be largely discharged and released for other tasks, and the money to support them could be saved to the community, if it were not for our criminals. So the community must bear the burden of its crime. What can be done to relieve the community of that burden?

Crime is a violation of law. Not always the law of God but the law of man, *i.e.*, the law of the State. If you do what the law forbids, or fail to do what the law commands, you are guilty of crime. It may not always be *morally* wrong to disobey the law, but it generally is. It has sometimes happened that good men have been put in jail for standing by their conscience against the law. Men have even gone to their death as martyrs rather than give up what they thought was right or obey a

Is the law always  
right and crime  
always wrong?



Years ago afflicted persons were regarded as useless burdens upon the community. But now it is known that the unfortunate can be educated and that they are happier when doing useful work. A SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND is



maintained in every state where instruction is given in school work and in trades. Even the MENTALLY DEFECTIVE may render helpful service. Here we see them working outdoors, draining a pond.





Tortures and chains are no longer in use for criminals. Many PRISONS have SHOPS where the prisoners work at their own trades or learn new ones. Thus they earn money which is placed to their credit or given their families.



Work is a badge of self-respect and independence. When the AGED can MAKE TOYS for little children, as shown here, they do not feel that they are burdensome to the community.



law which they thought was wrong. John Bunyan, one of the noblest of men, was put into jail for disobeying a law which forbade him to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. Before the Civil War period many good men and women felt that they could not conscientiously uphold the laws supporting slavery, and they became deliberate law-breakers by encouraging and assisting slaves to escape. Many of them were punished for their disobedience. Our fathers in the American Revolution refused to obey the Stamp Act, and they took up arms to defend themselves against what they thought were unjust laws. In the World War there were a good many men whose religious principles would not permit them to fight.

Are there any laws now in this country against the free exercise of religion?

Did you ever hear of the "Underground Railroad"? Were any of your ancestors connected with it? Is anyone in this country now held in slavery, or made to work against his will?

It is said that the way to get rid of a bad law is to enforce it and let the people see how bad it is. What do you think of this?

Is violence ever a good method of opposing a bad law?

May every man decide for himself what laws are right or wrong and which he will obey? Because a man is opposed to prohibition, is that a good excuse for his violation of the prohibition laws?

While there have been rare cases of rightful resistance to law, *the rule is that the law must be obeyed*. It is clear that a man may not decide for himself which laws he will obey. He must obey them all, or take the consequences. Obedience to law is the duty of all. Government by law is the only rule of progress. If we give that up and let everyone do what seems right in his own eyes then we have left only disorder and violence. How can a person remedy a law which he thinks is bad and unjust without disobeying it? He may seek to have the law changed. He may appeal to his neighbors; he may seek to educate the community and enlighten public opinion about the wrong. Violence, revolution, and rebellion are only the last resort, when everything else has failed.

There are various kinds of crime, some serious, some not so serious. A very serious crime is called a *felony*, such as murder, theft, embezzlement, robbery, burglary, forgery, arson. Such crimes are generally Kinds of crime penitentiary offenses. Murder and treason are *capital* crimes, which may be punishable by death. There are other crimes that are mere misdemeanors, — such as automobile speeding, making one's self a nuisance, a street fight.

There are crimes against the public, — such as treason, which is making war on the country; or counterfeiting, which is imitating the money of the country; or riot, which is disturbing the public peace by a combination of several persons.

There are crimes against the family and the home and against the sense of public decency, — such as bigamy (having two wives or two husbands at once), or polygamy (having several wives at once), or using vulgar and profane language, or keeping an offensive nuisance in the neighborhood.

There are crimes against individuals. Murder and manslaughter belong to this class; assault and battery, or making a personal bodily attack on anyone, and maiming a person in a fight (mayhem).

There are crimes against property, such as robbery, theft, burglary, forgery, arson (burning a building), gambling, embezzlement (taking property intrusted to your care). There are other wrongful acts which are called *torts*. These may result in injury or loss to another, such as trespassing on one's property, or failure to keep a contract, or defaming or slandering a person; that is, trying to deprive him of his good name. This is quite a list of crimes, but it does not pretend to be half complete.

It is amazing and discouraging to think of the extent of crime in America. Ours is the most criminal civilized country in the world. Every year we send an army Extent of crime of over 150,000 convicted criminals to our jails and penitentiaries. How many escape arrest and con-

viction no one knows, certainly two or three times as many as are caught and punished. In 1916 London with a population of about 7,250,000 had nine murders; Chicago with only a third of London's population, had 105 murders, or nearly *twelve* times as many as London. If Chicago were as large as London it would have nearly forty times as many murders. The same is true of New York City. In 1916 it had exactly six times as many homicides as London. In 1917 Chicago had ten more murders than the whole of England and Wales together. Chicago and New York are not worse than other American cities. It is the same all over the country. St. Louis and Liverpool are about the same size; in 1915 St. Louis had *eleven* times the number of homicides that Liverpool had. Philadelphia is but little larger than Glasgow; while Glasgow had 38 homicides, Philadelphia had 281.

The same thing is shown in other crimes of violence, like burglary and robbery. In 1917 New York had four times as many burglaries as London, and while London had 20 robberies New York had 838. How shall we explain this record of crime?

Why do men commit crime? Does it pay? Is one any happier or better off by going into a criminal life? Why are men tempted or willing to do so much wrong to their fellow men?

Causes of crime

No one can believe that criminals are happier or better off than honest men. And it is hard to see how men and women in fair circumstances would deliberately prefer a life of wrongdoing. How then shall we account for crime?

1. Some people seem to be naturally bad. They may have been born with criminal traits of character. There is an old saying that if you want to reform a boy, or make a good man of him, you must "begin with his grandmother." Ancestry counts for a good deal; "blood will tell."

Heredity

But we must not think too much of heredity. It is the bringing up that counts for most. It may be that some

children are born with criminal tendencies, but it is more likely that the criminal neighborhood or environment or the associations about the child are the things that cause the criminal character in the grown-up. **Environment**

The "Jukes" family is often spoken of as showing the effect of heredity. It is said that 1600 criminals or defectives were descended from one bad woman! But since it is known that a Jukes baby who was trained properly in a good home turned out to be a good and useful woman, it may be fair to conclude that the main trouble with the "Jukes" family is that all the little Jukeses were brought up among the bad and criminal Jukeses. Teach them and make their surroundings better and watch the result.

2. Of course, early bad habits and associations will lead to crime. The liquor habit, or the drug habit, or the habit of idleness and loafing, and shooting craps or gambling, — these habits are likely to under- **Bad habits** mine the will and take away the power of resistance to temptation. If a boy is always loafing around gambling places and drinking places and vulgar movies or dance halls, and is associated with bad characters, what else is to be expected than that he will grow into criminal habits? This shows the need of cleaning up the disreputable places that pander to and cultivate the vices of the young, and of providing attractive and innocent places of amusement.

3. Unemployment is a great cause of crime. It is always true that "Satan finds mischief still for idle hands to do." If millions of men in the country are out of jobs some of them are going to resort to crime **Unemployment** to keep themselves going. After a man has lost his job and has spent his money, his condition may drive him to do something desperate. If he is willing to work and has tramped the streets and gone from city to city and can find no honest work to do, he begins to feel a sense of injustice. He thinks that society has done him a wrong.

Can you think of anything more pathetic or more discour-

aging in the world than a man looking for work, with no work to be had? Unless such a man has a strong moral character he is likely to yield to the temptation to provide for himself in some lawless way. He may even commit some misdemeanor or petty crime in order to get locked up where he can at least get a place to sleep and something to eat. Our jobless man may even attempt burglary and robbery. Thus we see that poverty and distress are causes of crime.

It is a matter of common observation that "*crime waves*" go over the country during "*hard times*," that is, in times of industrial depression while thousands of men are out of work. It is one of the great problems of society to provide work for its willing workers and to keep the man power of the country busily employed. When men are making a good living at honest toil they are not likely to go into crime.

How can we bring about more respect for the law? Is it not strange that here in the United States where we make our own laws there should be such a record of crimes? Would stricter enforcement help to solve the difficulty?

Wonderful changes have taken place in the last few hundred years in the treatment of criminals. Why does our Constitution say that "no cruel and unusual punishments shall be inflicted"? Because they had been inflicted in the past. It is shocking to our sense of humanity to read of the awful and barbarous punishments that have been inflicted upon criminals, sometimes for very slight offenses. A hundred years ago in England there were two hundred crimes punishable by death, some of them very trivial. If a poor man shot a rabbit on a nobleman's hunting preserve, or stole some clothing off a wash line or bleaching field, he was sent to the gallows.

In former times men were given over to the flames, thrown to the lions, condemned to gladiatorial combats to fight for their lives, sewed up in sacks with venomous snakes, tortured by the rack and thumb screw, or confined and chained alone in dark and

Treatment of  
criminals

"Cruel and  
unusual punish-  
ments"



dismal dungeons underground. Punishment was meted out on the principle of revenge, and it was thought that other criminals would be restrained if the punishment were made horrifying enough. It did not work so. It is not the severity but the *certainty* of punishment that will do most to prevent crime.

All these horrible punishments are now done away with. Prisons are made comfortable, prisoners are generally required



CORRIDOR OF A PRISON SHOWING ROWS  
OF CELLS

to work and Prison reform  
are allowed

to have recreation in the open air; the "lock step" and the striped prison garb, badges of dishonor and humiliation, are now largely abandoned; and while the prisoners are not coddled and pampered, they are treated with a view to their education and reform. Sometimes men who are convicted of small offenses, especially if they are

The suspended  
sentence

first offenses, are not sent to jail or

to the penitentiary, which would be a disgrace, but they are released on "*suspended sentence*." That is, they are allowed to go to their homes and keep on working and providing for their families. If they behave well the sentence is not enforced.

The purpose is to make better men of them and to make them again fit to be given full freedom in society. Some prisoners have been led astray and are not confirmed criminals. They should be led to know that when they are ready and willing to make a living at honest work, they will be given a chance

to do so. They will be released and a job will be found for them. It often turns out that with what they have learned in prison they can make a better living than they could before.

With this prison system in view the law in many States provides for the "*indeterminate sentence*." That is, a person

The "indeterminate sentence" convicted of crime may be sent to prison for no fixed term. It may be "from two to fourteen years." In that case he must stay two

years but he cannot be kept for longer than fourteen. Whether he is let out at the end of two years or three depends upon

Parole or probation his conduct. Then he may be let out *on parole*, or *on probation*. The law keeps its hold upon him; but if he does well and behaves

himself he is given his liberty; if he again goes wrong he is brought back to prison, and this time it may not be so easy to get out on parole or probation.

Prison schools are conducted; the health of the prisoners is looked after, and they are allowed time for reading and self-improvement. While all these reforms have brought about great improvement and prison life has been made more comfortable and humane, there is still much to be done before prisons can do all they ought to do in the way of social reform.

The hardened and professional criminal must be kept away from the society of right-minded men. He forfeits his right

The professional criminal to his liberty. It is foolish to think that his environment alone has made him what he is, that he is not to blame for his criminal life.

Such a criminal has chosen his own course, and his place is behind prison bars until his heart and purposes and conduct are changed.

Prisoners cannot be left idle and useless. They must be put to work to produce something that people need. They ought to produce at least enough to pay for

Prison labor their *board and keep*. Some States now provide prison shops in which the prisoners can learn a trade and

at the same time produce articles that can be sold on the market, such as brooms, chairs, and furniture of different kinds. Some of the money earned is saved for the industrious prisoner to be given to him when the time comes for his release. Sometimes there is opposition to selling on the market the products of convict labor, when these products are brought into competition with the products of free outside labor.

Some States have established penal farms, on which the prisoners work to produce the crops. It is good, healthful, profitable labor. These farms produce all the food the prison needs, and sometimes more. Penal farms

Some States employ the prisoners for work on the roads. Other States lease, or hire, the prisoners out to contractors who make the highest bids for their labor, and these contractors make the prisoners work on their construction jobs, driving them almost like gangs of slaves. It is clear that whatever work is to be required of convicts must be done in such a way as will not crush out their manhood nor deprive them of their self-respect. While they have these qualities there is hope that they may be returned into the ranks of good citizenship.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make a brief summary of the burdens of the community.
2. Name the different kinds of defectives.
3. What is being done in your State for the education of the defectives?
4. What is the difference between the feeble-minded and the insane?
5. How are criminals the "enemies of society"?
6. Name different classes of crime.
7. Name the causes of crime.
8. What is the extent of crime in America?
9. Write three hundred words on unemployment as a cause of crime.
10. Compare the prison conditions now with those of earlier times.
11. Locate the various charitable and correctional institutions in your State. Get, if possible, the last annual report of the Secretary

of the Board of State Charities. Find out, if you can, how much these institutions cost the State each year.

12. (Is there a *certainly* of punishment for crime in your State? Does the jury system work pretty well? Is the pardoning power used too freely? Is there delay in the courts in administering justice?

### REFERENCES

Reed, Thomas H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter XXXVIII, "Crime and its Prevention."

Henderson, C. R., *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent Defective and Delinquent Classes*.

Ellis, Havelock, *The Criminal*.

Riis, Jacob, *How the Other Half Lives*.

Hill, Howard C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chapter XII, "The Handicapped."

See Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature for Articles on Crime, Defectives, Prison Reform, etc.

Interesting Reading:

Lowrie, Donald, *My Life in Prison*.

Booth, Maud Ballington, *After Prison*, — *What?*

Keller, Helen, *The World I Live In*.

Osborne, Thomas M., *Within Prison Walls*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

economic	ē kō nōm'ik	polygamy	pō līg'ă mī
epileptic	ēp ī lēp'tik	venomous	vēn'ūm ūs
gladiatorial	glād ī ā tō'rī āl	indeterminate	īn dē tūr'mī nāte
moron	mō'rōn	Braille	Bră'ē
felony	fēl'ō nī		

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE PROTECTION OF THE COMMUNITY

The story of crime and disorder, the experience we have had with dangers from disease and flood and fire, show us the need of making some special provision for the protection of the community. We have considered the duty of fighting disease and safeguarding the public health. Let us speak next of protection against crime.

In all cities of considerable size there is now a regularly organized police force whose business it is to enforce the law and protect the community against wrong doing. We have not yet a police system for all the rural districts, but some States have provided for mounted constables who strive to protect the country districts from disorder and crime as the city police protect the cities.

Protection  
against criminals

The plan of having in our cities a special police force organized and paid for preserving order is not yet a hundred years old. In early days when a person had violated the law and was running away, the "hue and cry" was raised, and then every man in the neighborhood left his business, and, followed by the small boys and the dogs, took up the chase and went shouting after the criminal. Or, there were a number of old and useless constables who generally allowed thieves to escape instead of catching them. In 1829 Sir Robert Peel in England, as home secretary, introduced the first paid police force, whom he organized and put in uniform. This excited a great deal of

The first paid  
uniformed police



opposition, so much so that for many years the policemen were nicknamed for him as "Bobbies" or "Peelers" by many people in England who resented the presence in their midst of this armed force of officers, with their "billies" and clubs and other arms. In time, however, the police became very helpful and efficient, and the people accepted them as essential to their peace and safety.

Each local community, or city, organizes and manages its police in its own way. Cities vary greatly in their police service. In some cities there is some police corruption. Instead of trying to enforce the law and to prevent crime, sometimes the police "wink" at crime or ignore it and refuse to enforce the law. Men and women who wish to run gambling places, or low dance halls, may pay the police for allowing them to run. Such policemen betray their trust and are traitors to their community.

The work of the police is by no means confined to arresting criminals, fighting rioters, or clubbing people in a disorderly crowd. They are real benefactors in many ways. They see that city ordinances are carried out; they prevent loiterers, and crowds, and peddlers, and fakers, and speechmakers from blocking the streets and sidewalks; they see that cars are properly parked and not parked at certain forbidden places; they try to *slow down* the automobile traffic, running after speeding cars on their motorcycles; they see that the sidewalks are kept in good condition; and the traffic policeman stands at the crowded street corner to direct the passing of automobiles and pedestrians in such a way as to avoid delay, confusion, and danger. The good policeman tries to break up the criminal "joint," or hidden gambling room; he patrols the streets, warding off danger; sometimes he risks his life to save people from burning buildings or runaway teams; he is always ready to give information to strangers in the city, and he is generally the friend of the law-abiding citizen and a foe to evildoers.

Services of the  
police

Some cities provide for police women, to attend to special crimes in which women are concerned. Police matrons are often very helpful in preventing wayward girls from going astray or in bringing them back to useful lives after they have fallen into bad ways. They protect women and girls who may be alone in public places, in parks, railway stations, or on the streets.

The police  
matron

What do you understand by "police graft"? Do you know of any specific cases? Are you certain, or is your information mere hearsay?

If vagrants and criminals may find good food and quarters in the jails and be well taken care of in prison, will that not encourage them to commit crime? It has, at times, worked in that way in the cities, and the police stations and the jails are sometimes overcrowded. At times persons are arrested whom the courts immediately discharge. The policy now is in the most progressive cities to discourage numerous arrests. The police are instructed to warn first offenders, to disperse disorderly crowds without arrest; to save men from the disgrace of arrest and loss of time in cases where the milder and kinder policy will have the better effect. So the intelligent policeman tries to prevent crime and to keep people out of trouble.

Police and courts  
work together

Some of the police are detectives whose business it is to ferret out crimes and criminals. They are "plain clothes men," who dress like other citizens with the badge of their office concealed, to be revealed when the time comes for an arrest.

Detectives

To resist a police officer is a special offense and the officer has a right to use force to compel submission. When the officer shows by his badge that he represents the "majesty of the law," it is the duty of the citizen to submit to his authority. The policeman may be mistaken and may arrest an innocent citizen; if he does, he may be punished for misconduct or the citizen may sue a policeman for false arrest. These



The policeman, more than anyone else, represents to those who live in the city the law as it touches our daily life. He helps LOST CHILDREN to find their homes. Occasionally he arrests a law-breaker, but for the most part



his duties are of a protective nature. It is his duty to see that you go SAFELY ACROSS A BUSY STREET and to direct strangers in the city. The fireman's duties, too, are of a protective nature, not alone in the fighting of fires, but also in enforcing the laws for fire prevention.



This fireman here is showing boys and girls HOW TO SEND IN AN ALARM, in case of fire. We have read of great bravery of firemen and



how they are ready at a minute's notice to FIGHT FIRE and to save human life, at great risk to their own.



"plain clothes" detectives mingle with the criminals themselves and have an opportunity to learn the ways and plans of law-breakers which, of course, the uniformed police could not do.

When men follow crime for a living or as a profession, the police try to keep a record of their crimes, and they keep on file in the police offices of various cities some identifying

**Criminal records** evidence so the police in various places may know the man they are asked to look for. The photograph of the criminal is taken, his physical features are described, — height, weight, shape — and his thumb prints are taken, which is a very sure method of identifying the man.

The police powers of the state are exercised not merely to save society from disorder and crime, not merely to prevent

**Police powers** wrong from being done, but to do good things for the community, to do anything that may be seen to be for the public welfare. All the laws relating to the prohibition of the liquor traffic; cleaning up tenement houses; inspecting mines and factories to make sure that they are safe and healthful places in which to work; keeping little children and women from laboring too early, too long, and too hard; preventing "profiteering" in rents; regulating the location of powder mills and slaughter houses; requiring elevated tracks for railway trains; inspecting hotel elevators; fixing the speed limit for automobiles; regulating the height of buildings; requiring rest rooms and rest hours for women and girls who toil, — all these laws and many others are enforced in the exercise of "police powers" for the protection of the people.

The states exercise these powers very fully, the national government very little, because the lives and welfare of the people in their local domestic affairs are under the control of the states.

These police powers are also exercised by the state to protect the community against destruction by fire. How much valuable property do you suppose is destroyed by fire in America every year? Some-

**Fire protection**



one has estimated it at nearly a third of a billion dollars, surely over 300 millions.

Besides the loss of property and the constant tax for insurance, that which is much worse occurs. Lives are lost in burning buildings and in fighting fire. Most of these fires are caused by sheer carelessness Carelessness the  
cause of fires and by a disregard of rules and regulations.

Pouring kerosene on smoldering coals to "start the fire"; throwing a cigar stub, the careless smoker cares not where;



A SIN AGAINST SAFETY

This is one of the most foolish acts in the world — to start a wood fire with kerosene. At the touch of a match the flames leap up in all directions and what may be the result? — Blindness, a disfigured face for life, and often death.

throwing a lighted match among the shavings; overheating the furnace fire or having a defective flue; little children playing with matches; letting soot accumulate in the chimney; careless lighting of the Christmas tree; careless wiring for electric lights; leaving the current on in an electric iron; going away from a bonfire before it goes out, and the wind comes up and spreads the sparks; leaving oily rags where the heat may cause combustion; emptying hot ashes in wooden boxes; cleaning gloves and clothes with benzine or gasoline near an open flame; poppy wood in an open, un-

screened fireplace, — these are some of the careless causes of thousands of fires which might easily be prevented.

Frame buildings which easily catch fire may not be built in the crowded parts of a city; inflammable materials may not be kept where they are likely to catch fire; fire drills are required in schools; fire escapes are required in hotels and other high buildings; as, also, asbestos curtains and numerous exits in theaters, — in these and other ways the police powers are employed to protect the community from the danger of fire.

**Fire Notice.** — Look around *now* and choose the exit nearest to your seat. In case of fire, walk (*not run*) to that *exit*. Do *not* try to beat your neighbor to the street.

THOMAS J. DRENNAN, *Fire Commissioner*

---

## METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

---

Do you have fire drills in your school building? Are they required by law? In what time should your building be emptied? How can each pupil cooperate best in a fire drill? Do you have a fire marshal in your state? What are his duties? Do you know the telephone number of the fire department, or how to turn in an alarm from a street box?

If you were to detect a fire in your school building which should you do first, send in the alarm to the fire department, or give the signal for a fire drill? Should the older pupils know how to do both?

Look up the law in your state on fire prevention and fire escapes. Do you know any cases of violations or disregard of the law?

One may have his house insured against fire, but that does not mean that he can be sure it will not burn down. It only means that if it does burn down the insurance company will pay him some money, perhaps enough to rebuild the house. That kind of insurance does not prevent fires, except as the insurance companies may busy themselves in securing fire regulations and having them enforced. The money value of

The tax of  
insurance against  
fire

the house is lost just the same. Some of it comes from the owner in the shape of insurance rates which he has paid for several years; that is, the loss is borne by the insurance company from money which the owner and other people have paid to the company for insurance. Paying for insurance is like paying a tax. It has to be done or one runs a great risk of losing all the value of his buildings.

Insurance rates go up as danger from fire increases. Shingle roofs, frame buildings crowded together, inflammable and combustible materials, — all these increase the risks from fires. Certain kinds of buildings are not allowed in crowded districts.

Fire companies and householders can well afford to be active in enforcing sensible fire regulations. That policy would save the insurance companies from loss, and it would save American householders from dreadful losses, too.

Do you know of any bad fires caused by carelessness? What is a "firebug"? Why do people set fire to houses? Did you ever hear of a man who set fire to his house in order to collect the insurance money? Has one a right to set fire to his own house?

If Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over the coal oil lantern and set fire to the hay shed which caused the great Chicago fire of 1871, whose fault was that?

Keep a list for a year of all fires in your community, and their causes and money losses.

Most of the states seek to coöperate with the local communities in preventing fires. There are state fire marshals with assistants, who investigate fires and prosecute persons who may be guilty of causing them. These officers seek to make known to the people the fire regulations and to send out information as to how fires may be avoided.

State aid in  
preventing fires

In several states there is once each year a "Fire Prevention Day," set apart by a proclamation of the Governor. On this day the schools are expected to give special instruction in fire prevention. What do you think of this?

Of course, it is better to prevent a fire than to try to put it out after it gets started. There are many preventions which people should consider. One is constant watchfulness and care in seeing that "all is well" when the lights go out at night; another is the patient education of the public and the teaching of children not to play with matches; legislation, or building acts, requiring certain precautions in putting up buildings and the storing of petroleum and explosives; having all householders informed as to the nearest fire-call point and how to turn in an alarm from the signal boxes on the street, one of which should not be far from every man's home; fire drills in factory and school, so that everyone may escape from a burning building within the shortest possible time without confusion or dangerous stampede; some reliance at hand for immediate use, such as a hand pump or a bucket, an ax and a saw and a fire extinguisher, in order that a fire may be reached before it gets well under way, — such are some of the means by which people can help themselves in fire prevention.

In all cities where there is always danger of a fire's spreading and consuming large sections of the city, there are fire companies well organized and well trained for fighting fire. They are on duty at all times, day or night, with engines, hose, trucks, hooks and ladders, and such other apparatus as is useful in putting out fires. Sometimes it is necessary to tear down or to blow up buildings in order to prevent a fire from spreading.

Well-equipped fire companies in our cities have high water towers on wheels from which the firemen with their water hose may reach the high windows of tall buildings. In smoke helmets to prevent suffocation, the brave firemen go into burning buildings to rescue people who have been entrapped.

For successful fire fighting, the water supply must be plentiful, the pressure strong and the hose sound, so that several streams of water may be played upon the fire at once and with force enough to send the streams to great distances.

Fires feed on air and good drafts. Some chemicals will destroy the oxygen in the air and put out the fire. So chemical engines are used and effective work can be done by a few firemen in preventing a blaze from making headway.

When one sees one of these modern well-equipped city fire companies, well officered and well drilled, fighting a fire, he is amused to think of the old ways of putting out a fire. Before there were organized fire companies in the small towns, when the fire bell rang in the night everybody got up and ran to the fire. Putting out the fire depended upon the townsmen and neighbors. Some leading man began to give directions and an impromptu bucket brigade was formed. Two lines of boys and men were formed reaching from the burning building to the nearest cistern, well, or stream. Buckets full of water were passed from hand to hand along one line, the water was thrown upon the flames as best the workers could, and the empty buckets were passed back along the other line. Sometimes the town supplied the leathern fire buckets; sometimes the buckets and pails were owned by individuals who carried them to the fire and brought them home again for future use after the fire was over.

Old ways of  
fighting fire

Later, hand engines were obtained which were worked by two rows of men on a platform or truck, holding parallel handle bars. The men would work away hard, up and down, "lippity cut," until from exhaustion they had to give way to the next relay of men. In this way a steady stream was kept playing on the fire until the hose burst or the supply of water gave out. Next came the steam fire engine, ponderous, glossy and bright, quite a wonder to the boys of the town when drawn to the fire by the big fire horses that jumped under the suspended harness in the fire house when the fire gong sounded.

Then came the auto fire truck which, carrying the hose, the ladders, and the men, goes rushing along the street at 30 or 40 miles an hour, clanging its bell as a signal for everyone to



get out of the way. Getting to the fire quickly is of the greatest importance.

We see that wonderful progress has been made in organized methods of fighting fire. The firemen are now under orders and discipline, like a military company. The individual fireman at a fire may be left more to his personal discretion than a soldier in battle; but he must have the same sense of duty and responsibility, the same courage to face danger, and the same readiness to sacrifice himself in the cause for which he is fighting.

The fire chief, or marshal, is in command. Under his direction the firemen have it as their duty to try to prevent fires, to inspect buildings, to see that fire regulations are obeyed. The men, when not on leave or on other duty, are always at the engine house, ready for a call on the electric fire alarm and for a quick run to the point of danger.

Can you bring to the class some interesting stories of brave firemen in fighting fires? See Jacob A. Riis's account of "Heroes who fight Fires," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 33.

What qualifications do you think a fireman should have? Should he be appointed because he belongs to a certain political party?

What can you tell about the fire department of your city?

Can you arrange to visit the fire department, see the equipment, and have the system explained to you? Classes often do this.

How can your city do more for the prevention of fires?

Some of the most dreadful and most wasteful fires in America are those in the great forests. Magnificent forest trees covering vast areas on the mountain sides or in the timber country are annually destroyed by fires. This waste of timber is a woeful thing when the country needs so much to preserve its lumber supply. Sometimes these raging forest fires burn up all the standing timber in a number of counties and the wind carries the fire to the villages and cities and wipes them out of existence. These fires are often started by the sparks from passing locomotives or from the carelessness of campers and hunters. This has led to

**Forest fires**

strict regulations on camping in certain forest regions, and fire officers post strict directions which campers must follow in setting up or breaking camp.

When forests are destroyed floods are caused. In places where trees and vegetation are growing the rainfall is more readily absorbed; but if the uplands are bare the water runs into the valleys below, carrying off the soil and flooding the country. At certain seasons great damage is done. Governments seek to

Floods and  
destruction of  
forests



THE RESULT OF A FOREST FIRE

What a pity, when every tree is needed, and thousands of dollars are spent every year to keep our forests growing!

protect the homes by erecting dikes and levees and raising the banks of streams.

What precautions against fire should campers take in the woods?

Look up the work of the Forest Rangers and their methods of fighting fires.

A man has the right "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," according to the Declaration of Independence.

This must give him the right to earn and to save, and to own property. Then he has the right to have this property protected. To protect the citizen's property against ordinary crime, — against fire, arson (setting fire), thievery, and robbery — is not enough. The citizen may need the help of the community in protecting his factory or store against riot or attack. He may need protection against the crook or sharper

**Protecting  
property**



WHEN THE CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER ROSE

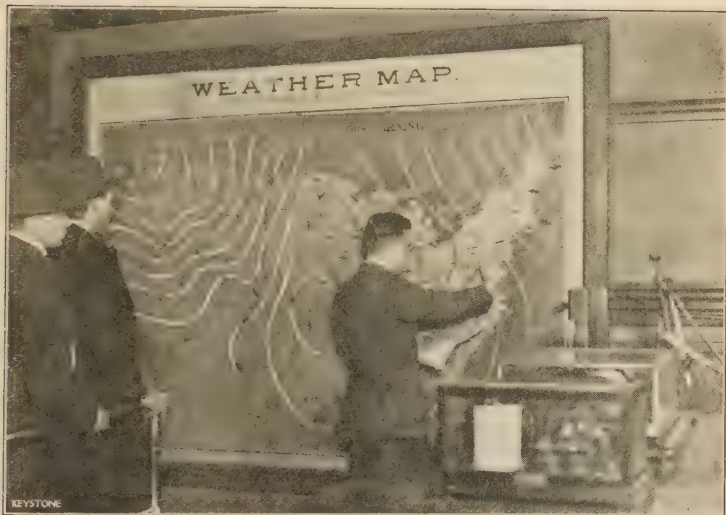
Much property was damaged by this flood, which made rowboats the chief means of transportation. At one point the river reached the height of 31 feet, and destroyed many crops.

who seeks to sell him worthless stocks and bonds. The "blue sky laws" require these stock companies who often swindle people out of their money under false pretenses, to show what they have behind their claims. The people need protection against adulterated foods, and pure food laws are passed for this purpose. Among the farmers the smut and the weevil destroy the grain; the cholera carries off the hogs; worms and

**Losses to  
property**

insects eat up the fruit; the hoof-and-mouth disease kills the cattle; prairie dogs and rats, ground squirrels and gophers, damage their crops; and flood or drouth may sweep away all the fruits of a season's toil. We look to the government, or to the community, for protection against these losses.

The state and national governments are going to great



THE DAILY WEATHER MAP

At certain hours every day, observers in weather stations all over the country take records and send them to the Weather Bureau in Washington. The figures are written on a big map, which enables the "Weather Man" to tell people, through the newspapers, about the weather.

expense to prevent these losses to property. They are spending millions of dollars to help out irrigation projects to prevent the danger from drouths. They are spending millions of dollars more in drainage projects to prevent floods. The Agricultural Department of the national government has become a great educational institution for sending out bulletins and circulars of information on diseases of plants and animals and how they can be remedied or prevented. Agricultural Colleges and Ex-

**How the gov-  
ernment helps**

periment Stations are established provided with expert teachers and laboratories where farmers may learn of the science of the soil, of plant and animal husbandry, and of the means of preventing these losses. The Weather Bureau sends out weather forecasts which warn the people of waves of heat and cold. By this means the crops of vegetables and berries may be saved if the owners can make special provision for their protection. Ships about to sail are also warned of coming hurricanes.

In these ways the government, through the coöperation and support of the people, is doing wonderful things for the protection of the property and good order of the community.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Why were the policemen once called "bobbies" and "peelers"?
2. Recite the various kinds of services rendered by the police in our cities.
3. How are your policemen appointed?
4. Show how the "police powers" of the state are exercised for the benefit of the people.
5. Compare the old methods of fighting fire with the most up-to-date methods.
6. What can be done to help prevent fires?
7. Visit a city fire station and give an account of the fire-fighting apparatus.
8. What are our state and national governments doing to protect property owners against loss?

### REFERENCES

Reed, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter XIX, on "Municipal Functions."

Beard, C. A., *American City Government*, pp. 282-286.

Howe, Frederic C., *The Modern City and its Problems*.

Hill, Howard C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chapter VIII, "The Police Force and Fire Protection."

See *World's Work* for December, 1921, *The Outlook* for October 5, 1921.

Look for magazine literature in a *Periodical Index*, or in the *Readers' Guide*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

oxygen  
împromptu

øk'sî jën  
îm prömp'tũ

levees  
cholera

lë'vës  
köl'ër ä



## CHAPTER IX

### BUYING AND SELLING IN THE COMMUNITY

#### WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

Without trade or the exchange of goods, community life would be a very backward and primitive thing. Imagine a man trying to provide for himself everything he needs or would like to have. He would need a plot of ground; do his own plowing and planting, raise his own wheat, grind it into flour at his own mill, and have a bakery in his own home. All this would bring him one needful thing, — bread. He might be able to provide meat to go with his bread if he could raise chickens, ducks, or pigs upon his land. He might be able to provide for himself a number of other things without buying or selling at all. All this would be possible; in fact it has been done. About the primitive cabin home in the wilderness all the needs of the family have been provided, without buying things from anyone else, — the shelter, the grain, the vegetables, the fruit, the chickens, the pigs, the horses, and the cows, — all these can supply the needs of the household, if the family has had a little start before it settles down far apart from others.

Living without  
buying

The furniture in the home would have to be of the rudest character, — the table, the chairs, the beds, the stove and cooking utensils, and other means of living and housekeeping. It is rather hard to imagine such a way of living; one naturally thinks of so many necessary things that would have to be *bought*. Certainly such a life is very remote from anything we are accustomed to in our modern ways and modern homes.

The farmer who raises his own food on his own land may be more independent than others; but the men and women in

our modern homes, in town and city, are entirely dependent for life's necessities and comforts, not to mention its luxuries, upon the toil and products of others. *They can be had only by exchanging goods or commodities and services.* A commodity is any article useful, serviceable, or convenient. There are many men of many occupations, some working at one thing, some at another, and the best way to supply one another's wants is

People depend on one another



A KANSAS FAIR

When a county or a state fair is held to show the community's progress and to spread the knowledge of inventions, the farmer exhibits his best fruit, vegetables, and live stock. Manufacturers and inventors set up for inspection machines and labor-saving devices of many kinds. It is as though each group says to the others, "See what we have to offer you—see how dependent we are upon each other."

to work for one another by producing some one thing that other people want and then by exchanging the products of their labor.

The same thing is true between different sections of the country. Climates and soils are different. California and Florida may produce oranges, lemons, and tropical fruits; Michigan may produce potatoes and Illinois corn. Some districts are adapted to wheat or apples, some to flax, hemp, or tobacco,

Different products in different sections

some to cranberries and other small fruits; others to dairying and manufacturing. It is desirable that each section may have what the other affords, that each should provide the others with what it can raise in abundance and receive from them what it lacks. This is the way to advance in civilization and to enjoy the comforts and good things of life. It is done by exchanges, by buying and selling. This exchanging power enables people to gratify their tastes and to have the things they like. It is the only way the material wants of mankind can be fully satisfied.

Name various ways in which men specialize in labor.

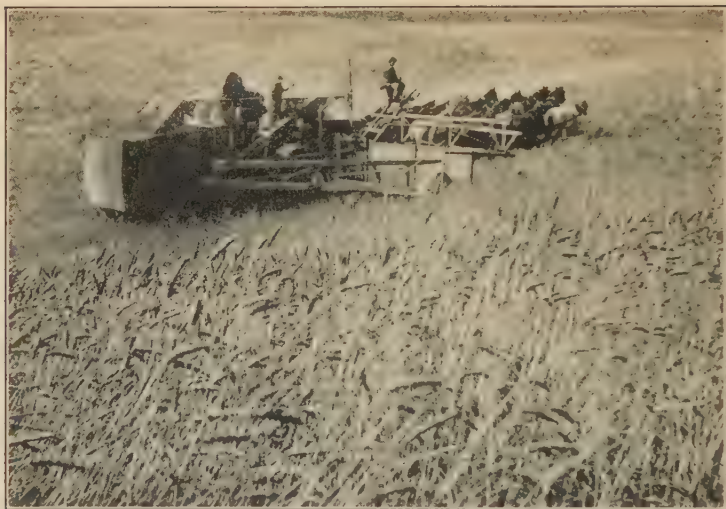
Make a list of things in the home which the homekeeper has to buy and bring in, which he cannot, or does not, make for himself. Can you name anything which the homekeepers make for themselves which is not obtained by buying or exchanging?

What particular products and industries are found in your neighborhood? Name special regions of America which are adapted to special products. Show the advantage of exchanges between individuals, and between regions. What are the principal exports and imports of your community? Where are the markets for your exports? Do your imports come from these places?

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In order to buy and sell there must be weighing and measuring. Man had hardly risen above the savage state before he felt the need of some method of measurement. He had to measure time, distance, quantity, area. Nature fixed a time-piece for him, as the earth rotates on its axis once a day. Other measuring things came by his own device. Cloth and land must be measured; beef and potatoes, butter and grains, must be weighed; other things like oranges and apples, may be counted. There must be some system of deciding *how much* is to be exchanged for *how much*.

A crude system of measuring first arose by using certain parts of the human body. Some king's hand was probably about four inches wide, and it was said that a horse or a fence

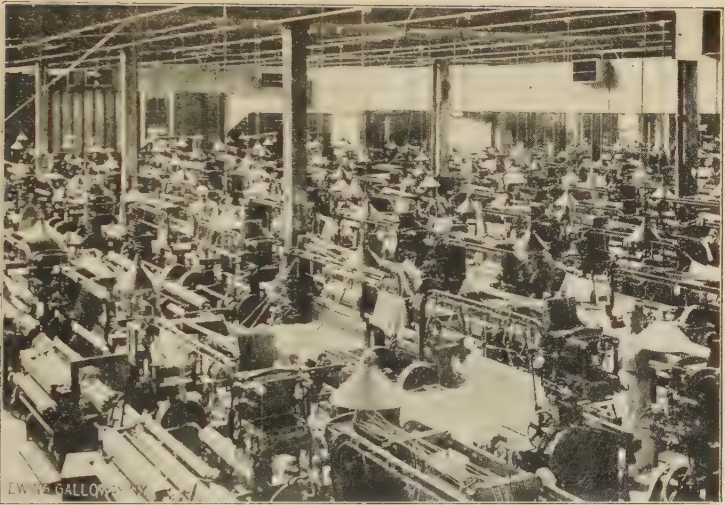


From all parts of the country our markets and stores and homes get their supplies. Here you see the harvesting of hundreds of acres of WHEAT in the State of Washington. Railroads, millers, and dealers cooperate with the farmer in marketing his products.



Some sections of the country furnish raw material, like WOOL or lumber, as shown in this picture. The raising of cattle and horses is also a flourishing industry.





Other sections of the country produce manufactured goods in large quantities. Here you see a big SILK MILL with its hundreds of machines which furnish employment to hundreds of people in the community. When finished, the heavy bolts of silk are shipped away by freight or motor express.

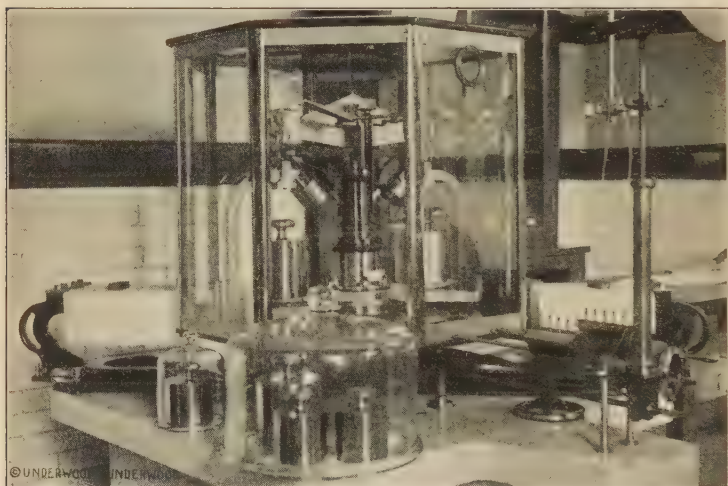


And in sections rich in minerals, thousands are employed in mining coal, oil, copper, etc. These are California OIL WELLS. All goods must be exchanged, and with money exchanges are made most simply.



was so many "hands" high. A cubit was the distance from the point of some man's elbow to the tip of his middle finger. The yard was the girth of the body, or it was the distance from the end of the king's nose to the end of his thumb when his arm was outstretched. The *stone* was the weight of a certain stone about the king's estate. The *span* was the reach of a man's

**Primitive ways  
of measuring**



**COULD YOU WEIGH THE INK YOU USE TO SIGN YOUR NAME?**

Yes, with this machine, which is kept under glass in the Bureau of Standards at Washington.

hand, the *pace* his ordinary step; a "day's journey," a foot, was approximately a certain distance. Sixteen men, taken haphazard, as they came, short and tall, big and little, put their left feet together end to end. The distance measured was called a *rod*, the sixteenth of it, a *foot*. The pound (now 7000 grains avoirdupois) was an old mint pound, the weight of a lump of silver once kept in the Tower of London. It was for troy weight as well as for avoirdupois. The standard has since been changed.

In some such rough way our measurements began. Of course, it will be seen that these parts of the body and chance weights were changing and inaccurate. Governments found it necessary to establish certain standards and to fix penalties for the use of false weights and measures. A *standard* is some weight, measure, or instrument, by which we can compare the weights

Fixed standards  
for measuring



TESTING FRAUDULENT WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

When false bottoms and weighted scales come under the eye of the government inspectors, the merchant who cheats his customers with them is apt to be punished.

and measures of other things, something by which other things must *stand* while being measured or compared. Nowadays the standard is very accurately determined, and our Bureau of Standards at Washington is prepared to send out accurate copies of the official platinum measure of length and weight which is kept carefully guarded. The merchants' scales and yardsticks are tested from time to time and if they are not up to standard the offenders may be punished, perhaps by

fine, perhaps by imprisonment. It is the business of the government to see to it that the people are given fair weights and measures. Congress has power to regulate weights and measures. Under this power it has enacted that fruit and vegetable barrels shall be of a certain uniform size. Congress could establish the metric system, if it chose.

Has your city an Inspector of Weights and Measures? How may the housewife protect herself against short weight? Ask your grocer, or your coal dealer, if his scales are tested occasionally. Who does the testing? What is meant by weight? If the milk man or butter man or vegetable man or coal dealer is not giving fair weight and measure, how can it be corrected?

B

## MONEY

Money is an invention to make trade easier. It is a means of making exchanges. Without money trade would have to be by barter; that is, men would have to exchange one commodity for another, just as a boy might swap so many marbles for a jack-knife. A farmer might bring so many bushels of potatoes to a shoemaker and exchange them for a pair of shoes; he might bring to the country store some chickens and butter and eggs, and "take his pay in trade"; that is, he would receive in return sugar coffee, tea, soap, calico, or whatever else he might want at the store. Such trading is barter and some of it still goes on at the country stores.

But barter is very primitive trade and it can be carried on only to a very small extent. It is generally resorted to only for a few staple articles or in a new country or in remote places where few people live and where there is a scarcity of money. Our industrial society of business and trading is so complex; there are so many occupations and so many human wants that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for a man always to find a chance to make an even exchange by barter. A man with a pig who wants a hat might find a hat store, but the hat man might not want a pig; and if he did and the pig

were worth more than the hat, how could they settle the difference? So they could not make a trade. It would be a terrible nuisance and there would be no end of trouble, if people could trade only by barter, by swapping things. Only a very limited number of things could be bought and sold in that way.



COMMUNITY MARKET AT QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS

Vegetables, flowers, poultry, eggs, and meats are the chief commodities for sale here.

Money, however, is a great help. The farmer with his potatoes and his pig, the shoemaker with his shoes, the merchant with his hats, — each can sell what he has for money and with his money he can buy what he wants. Thus money is a medium or instrument of exchange, which passes freely from hand to hand, which everybody is willing to accept because he knows he can exchange it for what he wants.

Money a medium  
of exchange

We are well acquainted with the operation of selling and buying. We all know what money will do. It will buy what we want, — not everything we want, but the goods we want, if only we have enough of the money.

Name some things which money cannot buy.

Who steals my purse steals trash,  
But he that filches from me my good name  
Robs me of that which not enriches him  
And makes me poor indeed.

Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act III.

Can a man buy a reputation, or a good character? Is a purse full of money really "trash"? A teacher once told a parent that his boy lacked ability. The ignorant parent said he would buy some for his boy. If one cannot *buy* ability how can he increase what he has?

Everyone wants money and everyone is working for it. Farmers, millers, bakers, merchants, carpenters, masons, clerks, manufacturers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, and every kind of agent and worker, — **Universal desire for money** all are working for money, or to produce things for which they hope to receive money. It is true that they may be working not *only* for money but to do good, to serve the community, each at his own work in his own way. But all must have money, the preacher, the teacher, the doctor, the lawyer, the laborer — everybody. If they can get money they feel that they can satisfy their wants, and live comfortably.

But, after all, it is not really money they want. Only the miser wants money to finger over, or hide away in a box or pile up in a bank. What people really want is the things that money will buy. Money is only the means of getting them. It is used as the measure of a man's wealth. He can have a fine home and fine things in his home, fine clothes, high-priced food, automobiles, travel, and luxurious pleasures, all in proportion to the amount of money he can command.

Explain the use of money. Tell why nearly everybody is so eager to get money. Name some crooked ways to which people resort in order to get money. A great scientist (Agassiz) was once offered \$1000 for a night's lecture. He refused and said he "hadn't time to make money." How do you explain this? Is not money-making



the very thing to which most people give up their time? The Bible says, "The love of money is the root of all evil." How can this be so?

Money is also called "a measure of value." The term "measure of value" merely means that we express values in terms of money. We say a hog is worth \$10, a hat \$5, a bushel of wheat \$1, a suit of clothes \$40, an acre of land \$200, a house and lot \$5,000. That is, we *price* things in terms of money.

Money as a  
measure of value

But it is important to note that money as "a measure of value" is not like the yardstick, or the pound, or the bushel measure, or the acre. These do not change. The yardstick is always of the same length, the pound of the same weight, the bushel of the same size, the acre of the same area. But the same amount of money is not always of the same value. Its value varies from time to time. A hundred dollars will not always buy the same amount of goods, sometimes more, sometimes less. If money is plentiful it is cheap, if scarce it is dear, just like everything else. At times a dollar has bought two bushels of wheat, at other times only half a bushel.

The value of money, like that of other things, depends upon supply and demand. The *supply* is the amount in use, that is, in circulation for trading purposes. Money that is hidden away in old stockings or locked up in vaults or safety deposit boxes does not count. If \$1000 were sunk in the bottom of the sea, then that money does not exist any more, for money purposes. Money must be at work, or circulating. It must be used in buying and selling, to be of any account.

The relation  
between money  
and prices

The *demand* for money is measured by the number of people who want it and how much they want it. The *supply* of money varies from time to time. Sometimes the currency is increased (inflated), sometimes decreased (contracted or deflated). How much money you can get for a cow depends upon the supply of cows and the demand for them, but also on the supply of money. Like everything else, when

money is plentiful, it is cheap, when it is scarce, it is dear. When wages are high, money is plentiful and prices are high; when wages are low, money is scarce and prices are low. If a farmer has to give up a good cow for \$15, that is *dear* money, or a *cheap* cow. If he gets \$150 for his cow, that is *cheap* money or a *dear* cow.

How much money can you buy with a horse? Or a day's labor? Do you buy money with things as well as things with money?

We have seen this changing value of our money illustrated several times in our history. At the close of the American Civil War wheat was \$3 a bushel, flour was \$21 a barrel. The prices of other things were up, too. Money was cheap, since the money or currency of the country had been increased, or inflated. A good deal of money could be bought with a barrel of flour, or with a horse or a cow, and for other things in proportion. While prices were high farmers could sell their crops for lots of money and pay off their debts, but the money which they paid was of much less value than was the money they had borrowed, say, eight or ten years before.

The same thing happened in the World War. Wheat went up to \$2.25 a bushel, flour to \$18 a barrel, cotton to 40¢ a pound, and labor went up, too, as unskilled laborers were earning from \$5 to \$10 a day. Our money had been inflated again and its value was changed. A few years after these wars the money was decreased in quantity (deflated) and prices fell. Then the farmers, especially the debtor farmers, were injured. It took the same number of dollars to pay their debts, but to get these dollars the farmers and producers had to give up two or three times as much of their wealth (produce) as they had been doing. The debtor farmer found his interest payments the same, his taxes the same (or more) and as prices fell for all the things he had to sell, he may have been forced to give up his farm to pay his debt. Is it any wonder that farmers are interested in money

of fixed value? Or, in money that will not allow prices to go down too suddenly?

We have spoken of the demand for money. This demand is constant and universal. Everybody wants money, not only for what money can buy, but for another reason. Money can do two very important things which nothing else in the world can do.

The demand for money: debts and taxes

It can pay debts and taxes. A merchant may offer 40 yards of silk, or a farmer may offer ten sheep and five calves for his taxes; but the county treasurer will not take these commodities. He must have money. Since everybody who has anything must pay his debts and taxes, everybody must have money for these purposes.

The law determines how a debt shall be paid. Whatever will legally pay a debt is a *legal tender*. The creditor does not have to accept anything in discharge of the debt due him except a legal tender, unless he

Legal tender

has agreed to do so in a contract. The debtor generally agrees to pay *money* and if he offers or tenders lawful money (that which the law has made a "legal tender") then the debt is satisfied whether the creditor likes what is tendered or not. In 1859 a woman lent \$5000 in gold for five years. In 1864 the debtor tendered \$5000 in the new "greenbacks" to pay the debt. These greenbacks were not worth half so much as the gold was when it was borrowed, because they would not buy half so much. But the greenbacks were "lawful money" and had been made a *legal tender* by act of Congress and the woman had to accept them and cancel the debt. She lost fully half of the wealth which she had loaned. This shows again the unfairness of having money that varies in value.

These things go to show why creditors and debtors, farmers and producers are so much interested in the money question. And since the prosperity of all depends upon the prosperity of the farmers and producers, we see how important it is for all classes in the

Importance of a stable dollar

community that the level of prices should be kept more nearly uniform, or that the dollar should be kept more nearly *stable* in its exchange value. That would be an *honest dollar* which stands for the same value from time to time. To get such a dollar is a problem yet to be worked out.

Of course, anything so important to all the people as money must be under the control of government. The law must say what shall be money and how much there shall be of it. The legal tender of any country is, of course, fixed by law. Other money, whether legal tender or not, must be recognized and issued by law. To coin money is the sovereign function of the nation, and the thing which is made into money must be money for all the people throughout the whole country. So Congress is given power "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof." No state may do so. Congress determines what metals may be coined and the weight and fineness of each coin, and it regulates the value of all kinds of money by fixing the quantity in circulation. All money is "*fiat* money," because nothing can be made into money except what the law decrees. When the law says, "Let this be money," then it is money. And nothing else can be money except what the law allows. If an individual attempts to coin money on his own account he is a counterfeiter; the law officers will soon hunt him down. A counterfeiter may make his dies so skillfully that the bills or coins struck from them can be detected only with the greatest difficulty. He may even put as much silver in his coin as the genuine silver dollar has; but the government will not let his business run. It is rightly very vigilant in hunting down these criminals and in keeping to itself the exclusive right to determine what kind of money and how much money shall be issued.

All kinds of substances have been used as money, — cattle, leather, iron, beads, rice, tobacco, ivory, furs, shells, copper, silver, gold, and many other things. These commodities were

Money is the creature of law : Its supply must be regulated by government

used as early and simple forms of money under primitive conditions before the law of the land determined what should be money. These queer things were used as money not because they were designated by any king or chief or law, but by *custom*, since (as the custom was) they could be easily exchanged for other things. People merely accepted as money what they thought they could use as money. The article was generally something which everybody desired because he knew there would be a demand for it. As men came to live under organized governments, these governments determined what the money substance should be. The governments struck off coins and regulated their value, partly by deciding how much of the metal in weight and fineness a coin should contain.

Substances  
used as money

The precious metals, gold and silver, have been used as a money substance for the longest time. They make pretty and durable coins; they have a merchandise value; and, in the case of gold, they are easily carried even in large denominations. Sometimes a king or an emperor would *clip* the coin, or take out a piece of it, as a means of enriching himself, or he would put in more of the alloy than a genuine coin contained, and then the coin of the realm was said to be *debased*. It was not a true coin, since it did not contain as much of the gold or silver as the coin asserted on its face. *end*

Debasing the  
coinage

Gold and silver money have now largely given way to paper, which is now most generally used as money among civilized nations. Very little gold is now used as money.

Paper money

From one year's end to another we seldom see it in circulation. Billions of business may be transacted and not a gold piece be passed from hand to hand. Silver is used chiefly for small change (subsidiary coin). It is found that paper money fulfills all the uses of good money. If it will pay debts and taxes, and if people do not hesitate to take it in exchange for their *goods*, it will have value and be good



money. Paper money has come into such general use because of its convenience. Five hundred dollars in silver could hardly be carried around, and five hundred dollars in gold would be quite heavy in one's pockets, while a thousand dollars in paper can easily be tucked away in a vest pocket, if need be in a single bill.

Of course this paper has value only as money, — it has no value in itself. It can have value as money only if limited in volume. If the printing presses were started and ten times as much paper money were put in circulation, it would of course fall greatly in value. Perhaps then ten times as much of it would have to be paid out in buying the same amount of goods. In Germany after the war paper marks were issued by the government in great abundance. Before the war the mark was worth about 24 cents; or 100 *marks* would bring about \$24, but after the issue of so much paper money thousands of these paper marks could be bought for 10 cents! Too much had been issued, and the *credit* of the German Government failed.

In Russia it was worse. The Russian *ruble* had been worth about 50 cents. But so many paper rubles were issued by the Soviet Government that it took several hundred thousand rubles to buy a pair of shoes. Paper money became ridiculous and next to worthless, "not worth a continental," or even worse. The Continental paper money of the American Revolution became worthless partly because too much was issued and partly because there was no real government behind the currency with power to tax the people, so as to redeem this money by receiving it for taxes or to make it acceptable for goods and debts.

It must be remembered that the value of paper money depends not only on its *quantity* but also on the credit and stability of the government that issues it. If revolution occurs and the government crumbles, or is overthrown; if it cannot collect taxes so as to pay its debts; if it cannot preserve order,

so trade and industry can go on ; if it cannot enforce contracts and say how debts are to be paid and force them to be paid ; if it cannot protect the people in their property and their earnings, then the paper money which the government issues will become worthless. In the American Civil War the "green-backs" (issued on the credit of the Government) went down when the battles were lost by the Union ; they went up when the Union armies were successful. If the Union had been destroyed and the Government had gone down, the green-backs would have been worthless. The value of a people's money depends upon the stability of their government, or on the confidence people have in it.

So it may be said that the Government stands behind its paper money. The Government provides not only that this money shall be accepted for debts and also for taxes in city, county, state, and nation, but in 1900 Congress established by law the gold standard (which had been the *policy* of the government for many years) by agreeing that all forms of our money shall be maintained at a *parity* with gold money. That is, any of our paper money may be exchanged for gold money at the Treasury of the United States or at any Sub-Treasury. When it is known that this will be done if anyone demands it, then no one demands it. Any bank will make the same exchange.

This is called making the paper money "redeemable." But no one will care to have one kind of dollar redeemed in another kind of dollar if both dollars are of the same value and will do the same work. Silver dollars are not redeemed in gold dollars (both are legal tenders, — see p. 157) but by the act of 1900 the Government agrees to maintain the silver dollar at an equal value with gold.

The gold dollar is the standard unit in our money. It consists of 25.8 grains of metal, 23.2 grains being pure gold. The silver dollar weighs 412.5 grains (371.2 pure silver). The mints have not been open to the coinage of silver since 1873, except

The gold  
standard

The gold dollar  
the standard unit

to a limited extent. (See United States history.) Since then silver has been sold on the market as a commodity. It is not so with gold. The price of gold is fixed by law. There is unlimited coinage of gold. It is not coined free of charge since there is a small charge called *seigniorage*. But the Government coins to any extent all gold that is offered; it stands ready to give, or coin, one dollar for every 23.2 grains of gold; so, of course, no one will sell his gold for any less.

*Bullion* is the gold in the nugget, or lump, before it is coined. It is sometimes said that gold money is good money because gold coin beaten up or melted down into bullion will bring the same amount of money as the coin. The reason for this is because the price of gold is fixed by law, as we have explained. The gold bullion will bring the same amount as the coin because by law the Government is required to give the same amount. If gold were "demonetized," or abandoned as money, and only paper money were used, then gold would sell on the market as a commodity, just like silver and all other commodities. Its market price would then depend upon the supply and demand for gold.

In managing a government there is always controversy about taxation and money. The object in view should be to get *just taxation* and *honest money*. The money problem consists in preventing the medium of exchange from *cheating* anyone; it should require everyone to pay back as much of wealth as he has borrowed and should compel him to pay no more. Gold, as we have seen, may be a unit, or measure, of value without being used as money. There is not enough of it for all the money that is needed. But the paper money must be a good means of making exchanges. The paper must not be worthless currency, no one knowing what it will buy tomorrow, but it must be *good money* which everybody is willing to take and for which he can get full value in return. Then his money is redeemed and if he wants 23.2

grains of gold for his dollar he can get it. The established unit of value (whether it be the gold unit or some other) must *have value*; otherwise it would be a fraud.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Show why money as a "measure of value" is not like a yardstick as a measure of length.
2. What is the difference between *price* and *value*? What is meant by saying that gold money has a "commodity value"? What gives value to paper money? What is the value of sugar in terms of butter, in your community? Is it proper to say that one gets money by *buying* it? Is the value of an article inherent or "intrinsic" or does it depend on the relation of the article to other things?
3. What is meant by "cheap money" and "dear money"? What would be the effect on prices of making money more plentiful?
4. Who determines how much money there shall be in the country? How is this determined? Can you tell what is meant by "inflation" and "contraction" of the currency?
5. Show how the value of money has changed in our history.
6. Explain why there is such a universal demand for money.
7. What is meant by "legal tender"?
8. What substances have been used as money in the past? Why were these substances used? What is mostly used now? Why? Does the value of money depend on its substance? What would be the effect of having too much paper money?

### REFERENCES

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*, the "Community Leaflet No. 16" contains a chapter on "The Services of Money," by L. S. Lyon, and one on "Borrowing Capital for Modern Business," by H. G. Moulton. This is published by the United States Bureau of Education, March 1, 1918. See also Leaflets 17 and 18.

Carver, Thomas N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapter XXIV, on "Money."

Marshall, Wright, and Field, *Materials for the Study of Elementary Economics*, University of Chicago Press.

See also various text books on Economics, such as Ely's, Fetter's, Carlton's, and others.

## PRONOUNCING LIST

inherent  
bullion  
seigniorage  
demonetized

ĩn hĕr'ĕnt  
bŏol'yŭn  
sĕn'yĕr ăj  
dĕ mŏn'é tīzd

fiat  
alloy  
parity

fi'ăt  
ă loi'  
păr'i tĩ



## B,, CHAPTER X

### KINDS OF MONEY: HOW CREDIT WORKS AND HOW BANKS SERVE THE PEOPLE

There are many forms of money used in America :

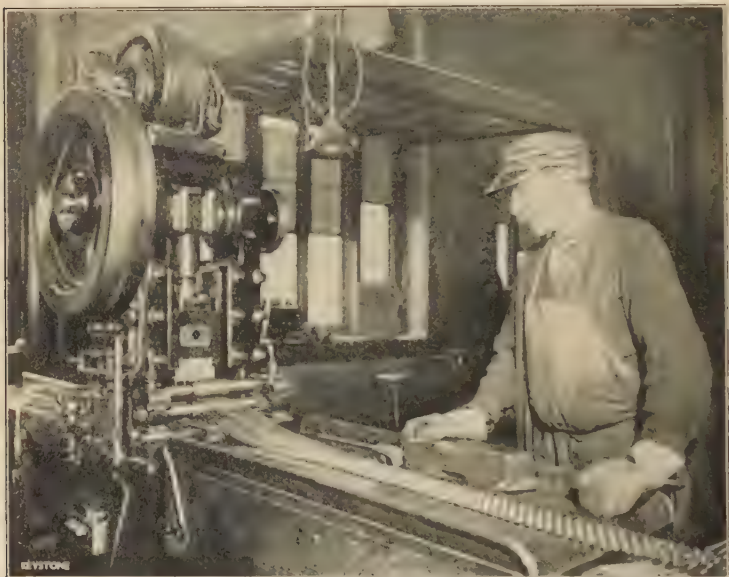
1. *Gold coins* of various denominations.
2. *Silver dollars*. This gold and silver money is full legal tender for all kinds of dues and debts.
3. *Subsidiary silver coins*, such as dimes, quarters, halves, for small change and small purchases. These small silver coins are legal tender only up to ten dollars. Nickels and copper cents are used for still smaller change.

Various kinds of  
American money

Of paper money we have the following :

1. *Greenbacks*, or the United States notes. These were first issued during the Civil War. They are legal tender for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. They are receivable for all public dues and redeemable in gold at the Treasury.
2. *Treasury notes of 1890*, issued to pay for silver bullion purchased. They are a legal tender. They are being redeemed in silver dollars.
3. *Gold and silver certificates*. These represent gold coins and silver dollars stored in the government treasury to the full amount of the certificates issued. The coin may be obtained at any time in exchange for the certificates. These certificates are merely a way of putting gold and silver money in circulation in the more convenient form of paper. They are not a legal tender, but are receivable for all public dues and are redeemable in coin.

4. *National bank notes.* The national banks are formed under the supervision of the National Government and are permitted by law to issue notes, to be used as money. They are not a legal tender, but the government agrees to receive these notes for all government dues (except duties on imports) and to use them in paying all government obligations, except the interest on the public debt. This makes them good money.



MAKING PENNIES

Metal sheets coming from the machine after coins have been stamped out.

Many persons insist that this privilege of issuing notes to be used as money ought not to be given to the banks, but should be exercised only by the Government itself. State banks are not allowed to issue notes. The National Government imposes a tax of 10 ¢ on state bank notes and this "taxes them out of existence." The government wished to have only the banks under its control to have the money-issuing power.

The holders of the national bank notes are assured that they will be paid because the bank which issues them must deposit with the Treasury in Washington Government bonds or certain other securities equal to the amount of the notes issued. One may have in his pocket a ten-dollar bank note issued by the First National Bank of Portland, Maine, or it may be, by the First National Bank of Portland, Oregon.



A UNITED STATES MINT

The majority of the silver coins in use in the country and millions of pennies are made in this mint in Philadelphia.

He neither knows nor cares about the soundness or management of these banks. The cashiers may rob the banks and run away with the money, and the banks may fail and go under; but the man who holds the ten-dollar bank note will not lose, because the credit of the Government is back of his money.

5. *Federal Reserve notes.* These notes are issued by the Federal Reserve Banks, which compose the *Federal Reserve Sys-*

*tem.* This system was created by Congress in 1913. For a long time it had been difficult in the South and West and Middle West to borrow enough money at certain seasons of the year to market and transport the crops, — cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, and other products. The banks of the smaller cities and towns in these regions were in the habit of sending much of their deposits to the city banks and financial centers of the East, especially to New York. Some interest was paid by the New York banks on these deposits; and they could be used, also, for purposes of exchange; that is, for sending money to different parts of the country by means of drafts drawn on the New York banks. Credit, or ability to borrow, and banking facilities, or ability to lend, were becoming too much concentrated in the East. When money was most needed in the West and South the eastern money market was *tight* and interest rates became high. That is, borrowing was difficult and expensive. Big banking interests in certain centers controlled the credits of the country; none could borrow, or get credit, except by their consent. The local banks could not accommodate with loans the business men, manufacturers, and farmers in their localities.

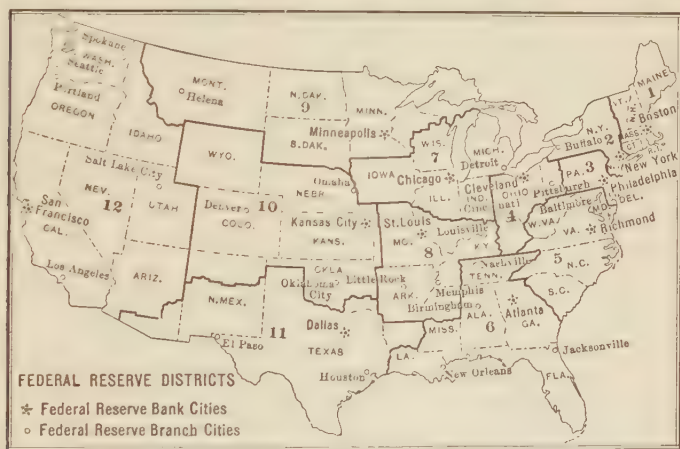
The Federal Reserve System was designed to remedy this situation and to make it possible that money should be more plentiful where and when it is needed and less plentiful when it is not needed; or to increase the currency of the country, if need be, when money was in great demand and to curtail it when it was not in demand, and thus to enable the local banks all over the country to lend money on good security when loans ought to be made to help business and to save men from loss.

By this *Federal Reserve Act* (Dec. 23, 1913) the country was divided into twelve districts and in the principal city in each district a Federal Reserve Bank was located. The cities are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Atlanta, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Chicago, Dallas, St. Louis, Kansas City, San

The Federal  
Reserve System

The Federal  
Reserve Act

Francisco. All the national banks and such state banks as choose to, become members of the Federal Reserve Bank for their respective regions. The Reserve Bank for each region is called the *Regional Bank*. These member banks buy stock and become stockholders in their Regional Banks. Its stock is not owned by individuals, and the Regional Bank does business only with its member banks. It is a bank for banks. These member banks scattered throughout the region may secure some of the *Federal Reserve notes* from their Regional Bank by sending some of their *commercial paper* as security for the notes. The commercial



paper which they put up as security consists of promissory notes and other obligations given to the local bank by farmers, merchants, manufacturers, etc. Such paper (evidences of obligations to the local bank) is called the *commercial assets* of a bank. So these Reserve notes are secured not by United States bonds owned by the local bank but by its promissory notes and other assets (property).


These Reserve notes which the local member banks receive from the Regional Bank may be lent out to their customers and they circulate as money. Although they are not a legal



tender, they are good sound money, because they are obligations of the United States and all the member banks are bound to receive them at par, and they are receivable for all taxes, customs, and other public dues, and, if anyone demands it, they will be redeemed in gold at the Treasury of the United States or at any Federal Reserve Bank.

This Federal Reserve System is controlled by a Federal Reserve Board consisting of seven members. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency are *ex officio* members, and the other five members are appointed by the President.

The Federal  
Reserve Board

This Board determines when Federal Reserve notes shall be issued by the Regional Banks. If they refuse to issue them or call them in after they are issued, the member banks cannot make so many loans to borrowers who apply for money. By expanding the currency or contracting it (making it *elastic*) it has been claimed that the Federal Reserve System has been able to save the country from a disastrous panic during and following the World War. 

Most business is done on credit. A money *panic* comes from lack of credit and loss of confidence, when the demand for money is too much for the supply. People fear the money they have lent or deposited in the bank will not be returned. They go after it by demanding repayment of their loans, or there is a *run on the bank* as everyone is calling for his money; the banks call in their loans, and those who are in debt and cannot get the money have to sell their property at a great sacrifice, and thousands of honest people are financially ruined. Such is a panic. When there is danger of a panic the Federal Reserve Board may issue notes as an *emergency currency*. The banks are supplied with this money (on their commercial paper) which they can lend to *solvent* debtors. A solvent debtor is one whose property is sufficient to pay his debts, not at panic prices but at normal prices. When people find they can get their money from the bank when they want it, they

The causes of  
panics

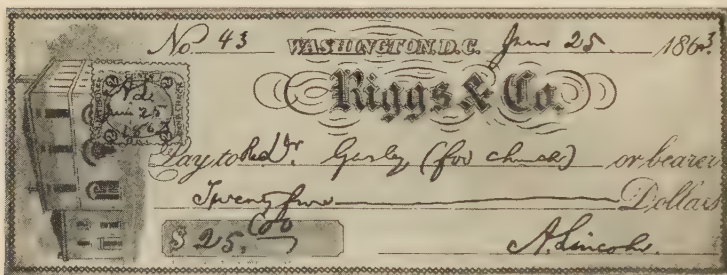
don't want it ; so they are willing to leave their money there ; the *run on the bank* is stopped and credit and confidence are restored and a panic is prevented. Such a vital service can be rendered by a govern- How a panic may  
be prevented ment agency, like the Federal Reserve Banks, which can in an emergency supply more good paper money when it is needed.

In the industrial stringency (not a panic) from which the country suffered after 1920, the Federal Reserve Board was criticized for *deflating* or decreasing the currency in the country, which, it was claimed, caused the fall of agricultural prices. In 1919 the amount of money in circulation in the United States was about \$56 per capita ; at the end of 1921 it was about \$49 per capita. A demand has arisen that the membership of the Federal Reserve Board should be increased and made more representative of the various industrial interests of the country.

We have spoken of money as essential to trade. Yet nine tenths of the world's trade is carried on without the direct use of money. It is done chiefly by Banks, credit, and  
credit instruments credit. When money is paid for a thing the payment is said to be *in cash*. But very little business is conducted on a cash basis. Most debts and bills are paid not in cash but by some *credit instruments*, such as drafts and checks, and money orders. When one wishes to pay a bill or debt in some distant city, he is likely to send a bank draft or a post office money order, although personal checks on the home bank are sent now very frequently to all parts of the country. When the man of the house wishes to pay the monthly bills, he does not take or send cash to the stores, or to the gas office, or to the coal dealer, but he generally pays by a check on his bank. He pays in the same way for most of the things he buys ; unless the charge is only for a small amount. So throughout the year a man may do a large business and handle comparatively little money. The check also serves as a record of the payment and when the

check is *endorsed* by the one to whom it is paid (which he does by writing his name on the back of it) it serves as a receipt for the payment. Thus checks do the work of money to a large extent.

At times a person who receives a check for services turns it in to the merchant to pay for groceries or other goods; and the merchant may pay it to the doctor, **The use of checks** and it thus performs several transactions before it comes to the bank, when the banker deducts the amount of the check from the credit side of the man's account who



HOW ABRAHAM LINCOLN WROTE A CHECK

A check must always have a date on it. It should have on it the amount for which it is to be drawn, both in figures and in writing. And it must be plainly signed. This check is especially interesting because of its famous signature. Note also the canceled revenue stamp—a form of tax sometimes resorted to by the Federal Government to raise money.

first wrote the check. A check must be endorsed every time it is transferred from one person to another. A check is merely an order on the bank to pay so much money. It is *not good* unless the one who writes it, or gives it, has money or credit in the bank to the amount of the check. If one writes a check on a bank in which he has no money he is guilty of a crime and may be punished. That is like getting money or goods under false pretenses. A forger sometimes forges a check by signing someone else's name to it, or he raises the amount called for in a check. Forgery is a penitentiary offense.

One who buys goods at one time and pays for them later is said to receive *credit*. If his credit is good the storekeeper, or dealer, will not demand payment for goods in cash but will allow the buyer to pay for them at his convenience. If a farmer buys a mower, reaper, or tractor, he may pay for it by a *promissory note* payable in six months or a year; that is, he *promises* to pay for it later. The seller may take some security, such as a chattel mortgage on the implement, or a *vendor's lien*, which are legal claims to, or evidences of, ownership of the property until it is paid for. These are also *credit instruments*.

If one has a reputation for honesty and has something ahead so as to have a bank account, his credit will be good. He can order goods by telephone and have them charged to his account; or he can even buy goods on credit or pay for them with his check in a big city store where he is not known personally, because these stores have a way of finding out about a man's credit in his home town. There are commercial publications (like Dun's or Bradstreet's) which *rate* men and business firms throughout the country and put them on a list as worth so much or as worthy of being trusted for so much. Or the big city store can telephone the home bank of the customer and find out whether his credit is good. The banks generally know about the credit of people in their home community.

On the other hand, if a man comes to be known as one who does not pay his debts and accounts he will have no credit at the stores and no merchant will let him take goods from the store without payment in cash.

Banking has been the chief agency in promoting this credit system. Banking arose in the Middle Ages in a very primitive way. The goldsmith may have been the only man in his community who had a vault or a strong box in which valuables could be kept, such as gold, silver, or jewelry. Merchants brought to him

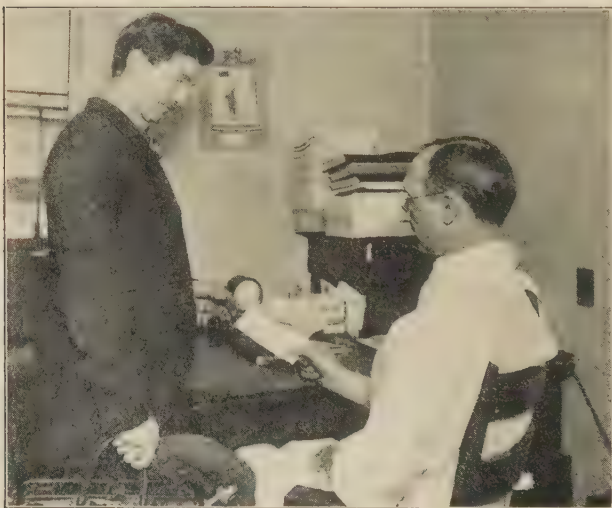
Buying on credit

Keeping one's  
credit good

Banks and  
banking



Mr. Williams pays the dentist by CHECK, instead of in money, that is, he orders his bank to pay the dentist \$10. Instead



of cashing the check, he endorses it by signing it on the back, and GIVES IT TO THE PLUMBER, in payment for repairs.





The plumber **PAYS HIS GROCERY BILL** by writing his name on the back of the check. As though it were a \$10 bill the



grocer **TAKES THE CHECK TO THE BANK**. It is added to his account, while Mr. Williams's account is decreased by \$10.

their money for safe keeping. They took a receipt, and when this receipt was returned they could get their money again, if the goldsmith proved to be sound and honest. This receipt corresponds to the present day *deposit slip*, which any banker will give to one who deposits money in his bank. Our early goldsmith sometimes charged a little for the care which he took of the money left with him; it was a real service. There were many who wanted this protection of the goldsmith's safe, and the consequence was that the smith found himself with a pretty large accumulation of money. He felt quite certain from his experience that only a very few of the merchants who had left money with him would come to get their money at the same time; so he could always rely upon having a good amount on hand. He, therefore, began to lend this money to others who could give security and whom he could trust, and he charged the borrowers interest on what he lent. Thus he found it profitable to have this money in his keeping and he was anxious to get more of it. So instead of charging for keeping the money safe, he began to offer a little interest to those who would bring their money to him. This is now called interest on deposits. This arrangement was mutually profitable both to the merchant and the primitive banker; because the goldsmith banker could make money on the money that was left with him, and when he wanted it the merchant could always get the money which he had left with the goldsmith.

If the merchant had already taken away all that he had deposited, the banker was able and willing to lend him some more to help him carry on his business. In the early history of banking the merchants, instead of paying a debt in gold and silver, wrote an order (a check) to the goldsmith directing him to pay so much to the person named in the order. The person who received this order might, in turn, sign it over to another person in payment of a debt. In this way the custom of using checks arose. This story will help to illustrate the services rendered to a community by a bank.

1. A bank is a place for the safe keeping of money and valuables. The bank has safety-deposit boxes for valuable papers such as bonds, certificates of stocks, diamonds, jewelry, and such other things as the customers of the bank may wish to have kept safely. The vaults of the bank and the great steel safes can be opened only by those who know the combination of the lock. They are generally *burglar proof*, but, if not, the

Services of a  
bank



A SAFE DEPOSIT VAULT

It is composed of many small steel boxes where people may keep valuable jewels and documents secure from fire or burglars.

banks generally carry *burglar insurance*, which secures them against loss from the hazardous attempt of burglars to *blow a safe*.

2. Another service of the bank is to be a lender of money. Formerly men loaned money to one another more than they do now. Usually in these days if a man wants to borrow money he goes to his bank. It is the business of the bank to deal with *loans* and *discounts*.

A man may own a promissory note for \$1000 which is not due for six months. If he wants the money right away he

**Discounts** can take the note to the bank, which will discount it. That is, the bank, will buy the note and pay the owner \$960, if the discount rate is 8 %. The banker will then collect the principal and interest when they come due.

When many persons have deposited their money with the bank for safe keeping, the bank will have on hand a large accumulation of money. A large part of this

**Loans** it can safely lend to merchants and farmers to help them carry on their business. Thus the bank becomes a *reservoir of credit* and it directs this credit into channels where it is needed, — to factories, firms, and responsible persons who have to conduct their business on borrowed funds.

3. The community bank generally seeks to encourage thrift, and to advise its customers about safe investments, and by its checks and drafts it makes easy the payment of bills and the sending of money (credit, not actual money) to other parts of the country. Issuing notes to be used as money is a function of the Government, not of the banks. Although the national banks are allowed by law to do this, many of them, especially the larger ones, do not do so.

To encourage thrift and to provide a safe place for the savings of the people the United States Government has established a system of Postal Savings Banks.

**Postal Savings Banks** By an act passed in 1910 Congress has provided that every post office may be used as a savings bank. If a person places money in one of these post offices a certificate of deposit will be given him, a small rate of interest will be paid to him ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  %) and he may know that his money is absolutely safe. The Postmaster deposits this money in reliable local banks which give good security for it, and the banks pay the Government as much interest as the Government has to pay the owner. The banks lend this money for industrial

purposes, and since there are many people who distrust private banks but trust the Government much money is brought out of hiding into active use, and at the same time thrifty saving is encouraged.

It is necessary to have banking laws to protect the people against fraudulent banking and wrongdoing. *Wildcat banking* has to be prevented. If anybody, without either capital or character, were allowed to open a bank and take in the people's money, great loss might come to overtrustful depositors. Such things have happened. But now banking is looked upon not entirely as a private business, but as very largely a public business. The Government charters a bank and requires it to do certain things, to make regular public reports of its affairs, and Government bank examiners inspect the banks and require them to obey the law. Thus the community is protected against unsafe banking. These safeguards of the law, the publicity to which the bank is subjected, and especially the men who own the bank and the men behind the counter who manage it,—these are guarantees to the community for safe banking.

Banking  
safeguards

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Name several different kinds of money used in America. Is one kind better than another? Why?
2. Why was the Federal Reserve System established? Describe it. How may the Federal Reserve System help to prevent a money panic? What is a "money panic"?
3. What are "credit instruments"? Show how they take the place of money. Name some "credit instruments."
4. What is the benefit of having good credit in the community? How may one establish good credit for himself?
5. Tell how banking began, and recite some of the services rendered to the community by banks.
6. Why should there be public control over banks?



## REFERENCES

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*, the "Community Leaflet No. 16" contains a chapter on "The Services of Money" by L. S. Lyon, and one on "Borrowing Capital for Modern Business," by H. G. Moulton. This is published by the United States Bureau of Education, March 1, 1918. See also Leaflets 17 and 18.

Carver, Thomas N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapter XXIV, on "Money."

Marshall, Wright, and Field, *Materials for the Study of Elementary Economics*, University of Chicago Press.

See also various textbooks on Economics, such as Ely's, Fetter's, Carlton's, and others.

## PRONOUNCING LIST

stringency  
mortgage

strín'jěn sí  
mór'gāj

lien  
reservoir

lē'ěn  
rěz'ěr vwór

## CHAPTER XI

### TAXATION: HOW THE COMMUNITY PAYS ITS WAY

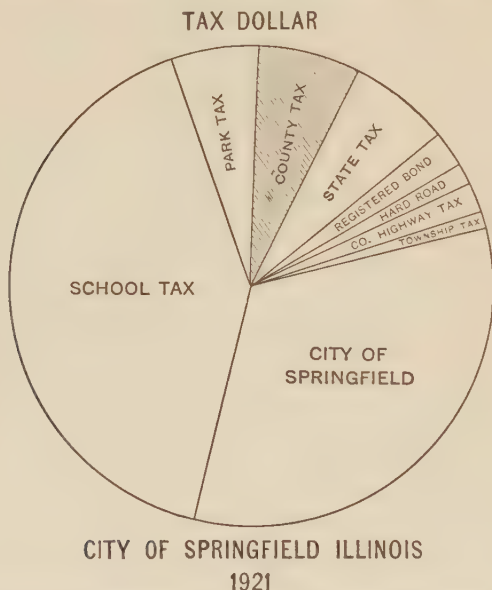
There is an old saying to the effect that "two things are certain in this world, death and taxes." Death is generally thought of as a sorrow and a calamity. Are taxes to be thought of in that way? Are taxes not a benefit to the community? Are they not necessary if the community is to do its work? Can a nation or a state or a city or a town get on at all without taxes? If not, why should citizens complain as if taxes were some great wrong or calamity imposed upon them?

If the question is asked, "Why must we have the burden of taxes?" the answer is easy. It is to run the government. The American people now pay billions of dollars to run the government, national, state, and local. In the national government the salaries of President, Vice President, Congressmen, and Judges must be paid; soldiers and sailors, and thousands of employees must be paid.

Why do we  
have taxes?

Locally, most of the tax money goes for roads and schools. It costs money to build schoolhouses, to furnish them and to keep them warm in winter. The teachers must be paid. Roads through the country must be built and kept in repair. We must have bridges over the streams, good streets and good sidewalks in the cities, and there must be paid policemen and firemen and judges and other officers. The county must have a courthouse, a jail, and a poorhouse. The city may want a public library and some playgrounds. All these things cost money. Where is it to come from? Can we depend upon some rich and generous people to give it? No, the people

must pay it; it must come from the taxes. So the people, through their representatives in the legislature, pass laws putting taxes upon themselves for the things they want the whole community to do. The only question is, shall we do without these things or pay taxes in order to have them?



A tax dollar is simply a picture of how the money paid in taxes is spent. The circle represents one dollar. As you see, almost half of every dollar paid by taxpayers in Springfield was used for schools. The various city departments needed the next largest part of the tax dollar. There was a special tax for parks. Then, the county, the township, and the state received a part, as the people who live in the city of Springfield are residents also of Springfield township, Sangamon County, and the state of Illinois.

In a small Indiana city of 12,000 people there are six distinct taxing units, the state, the county, the township, the civil city, the school city, and the library board. The tax rate assessed was \$3.40 on every \$100 of taxable property. This was divided as follows:

Where the  
money goes

For the State . . . . .	\$ .24
“ “ County . . . . .	.57
“ “ Township . . . . .	.55
“ “ Civil City . . . . .	.70
“ “ School City (Schools) . . . . .	1.30
“ “ Library . . . . .	.04
	<u>\$3.40</u>

The taxes are all paid into the County Treasury in one sum. The person who pays on \$1000 of assessed property would pay \$34 for the year. This would be distributed :

To the State . . . . .	\$ 2.40
“ “ County . . . . .	5.70
“ “ Township . . . . .	5.50
“ “ Civil City . . . . .	7.00
“ “ School Board . . . . .	13.00
“ “ Library . . . . .	.40
	<u>\$34.00</u>

The \$7 going to the City was used as follows :

For General Expenses . . . . .	\$4.60
Water Works Bonds . . . . .	.40
To pay City Bonds . . . . .	.20
For Lighting the City . . . . .	.70
On Water Works Contract . . . . .	.70
For Park Fund . . . . .	.30
“ Cemetery Fund . . . . .	.10
	<u>\$7.00</u>

Make a list of things other than those mentioned in the text for which taxes are paid.

Can you think of ways in which public expenses can be cut down so taxes can be lowered?

Have taxes been increasing in recent years? If so, is it because the people have been demanding more things of their government?

Complaints may come because taxes are compulsory. It is certainly true that taxes are not a *voluntary contribution* to the community. Whether they are paid cheerfully or not, the government will force their payment if it becomes neces-

sary or if collection is possible. The very definition of a tax is that it is a *compulsory contribution to the community for public purposes*. The community cannot leave

Why people complain of their taxes: taxes are compulsory it to the individual to say whether or not he shall pay, or how much he shall pay. If that were done, some people would not pay at all; they would not be willing to bear their fair share of the expenses and burdens of the community. Men pay voluntarily to support their churches, or their political parties, or their clubs and lodges; or if they do not pay their "dues" to these voluntary associations they can be put out and be no longer members to enjoy the privileges which the faithful

Everybody a member of the civic community members pay for. But men are members of the state, or of the *civic* community, involuntarily. Everybody who lives in such a community is a member of it. He may get away from one community by going to another, but everybody (in civilized life) is a member of some community. He cannot be "put out," except for crime, and then he is "put in," and kept away from the society of law-abiding people.

If a citizen refuses to pay his taxes, the state or the community may sell his land or house or levy on his personal property, and have this property sold for taxes, and collect the tax in this way. If the property goes *delinquent* for a certain time, it is advertised and then after the owner has had a reasonable time in which to pay, the property may be sold at a *sheriff's sale*. The sheriff is the county officer who is charged with collecting the tax or executing the law. If a citizen has no property, real or personal, then, of course, the tax cannot be collected. The citizen cannot be fined or put in jail for not paying his tax. That would be like imprisoning a man for debt, a practice which has long since passed away.

"Delinquent taxes"

A man without any property may have a *poll tax*, or voting tax, imposed upon him. Is this a fair tax?

Notice in the local papers the delinquent tax list. Why does



so much property *go delinquent* for taxes? What is done about it?

Under what conditions is the delinquent list likely to be longer?

Did you ever attend a *sheriff's sale*? If a farmer's land has a mortgage on it, is anything deducted from his tax? Is the mortgage holder taxed for the mortgage?

People may complain about the taxes, not because they are unwilling to help support the needs of the community, but because there may be too much taxation, or because the public money is wasted or misused; or because the taxation is unjust and the public expenses are not fairly distributed among the people; or because the tax is imposed by an authority which has no right to do so. The American Revolution was caused partly by what the Americans considered an unfair and an unconstitutional tax. Americans claimed that taxes should not be put upon them by a legislative body in which they were not represented; that the people were to be taxed only by themselves, through their representatives. Americans now do actually tax themselves through their legislatures, in Congress, in the state legislature, in county, city, and township government. Although these taxes are self-assessed, they are much heavier and the people complain fully as much about them as in the days when they were ready to rebel against George III for what they claimed was wrongful taxation. The tax burdens of those days were very light, compared with these. Most of the troubles of government come from taxation, and, perhaps more revolutions and rebellions have been caused by taxation than by anything else.

But complaints would decrease or disappear, or could be entirely disregarded, if we could make sure that the tax money were rightly used, that the people really get value received for what they pay, and that taxes were fairly and justly imposed, and that everybody was paying his fair share of the public expenses. The tax problem consists in bringing about

Other causes  
of complaint:  
unjust taxes



Governments must have money, and that is why there are so many forms of taxation. The owner of this farm, for instance, **PAYS TAXES** on his Real Estate, that is, land and buildings, and his Personal Property, which includes furniture, tools, live stock, securities, etc. Similarly, property-holders everywhere are taxed.



If he owns an automobile and wishes to drive it, he must get an **AUTOMOBILE LICENSE** as these people are doing and the fee he pays goes to the state. If he inherits money, he may have to pay an inheritance tax on that.



An **INCOME TAX** requires him to pay part of what he earns to the government. His wife may have a dress made of imported silk. The importer pays a Customs duty on every yard of it and this is added to the selling price



of the goods. Here you see **CUSTOMS INSPECTORS** appraising imported goods as they are unloaded from ships. Smokers pay a tax on tobacco. In some states voters pay a poll tax. Almost every community has a school tax.

fair and just taxation and in seeing that the taxes are not wasted, misused, or spent extravagantly.

Certain principles of taxation are clear :

1. People should be made to pay according to their ability. Some people have much, some have little. Let them pay accordingly. One's ability to pay may not depend upon the amount of property which he owns. If his property is not producing an income or is not increasing in value, that fact should be considered. The amount of income or gain that one receives year by year may be a better test of taxpaying ability.

The principles  
of taxation

The community may wish to encourage certain industries or the cultivation of certain crops, and it may therefore rightly reduce the taxes on such property or exempt it entirely. If a man sets out his land to forest trees from which he cannot hope to have a crop for fifty years, such land might be exempt from taxes, or the rate lowered, especially since the state wishes to encourage forestry. Lumber is needed everywhere. The forest trees have been burned and wasted, and land-owners should be encouraged to raise timber. But if timber land were taxed as high as land used in raising wheat, corn, and hogs, no man would want to plant trees and go on paying taxes for fifty years without a crop. The tax on the land should be according to its income or its location for earning purposes or on the increase of value.

2. All property and persons should be treated alike. Property may be classified and different classes of property may be fairly taxed at different rates (as we have indicated), because some property is producing an income while some is not. But with property of the same class there should be no favors shown. Some property is rising in value, like city sites and lots which the demands of business and the growth of the community are making very valuable. Those who advocate the *single tax* would tax only the land in the country and site values in cities; that is, the *locations* that are very

Classifying  
property



valuable for doing business. They would release from taxation all buildings and improvements and all personal property and everything that labor produces. The single taxers claim that the land and *site* tax would produce enough for all government purposes.

3. The tax should be assessed and collected by public officers, in a public manner that may be known to all alike, and always for a public purpose. Taxes should never be used to promote a special or private interest. The whole community should reap the benefits of the enterprises carried out by the taxes. Taxation only for public purposes

The taxes should never be *farmed out*. In old Roman days, in the provinces, tax collectors were hired under contract to bring into the treasury so much money. The tax-gatherers were allowed to collect more and keep for themselves as their pay all over and above what the treasury demanded. They became oppressors and extortioners and they robbed the people under the name of taxes. No class of people were more hated than these tax collectors, called publicans.

Explain why the Jews hated the publicans in the early days of Christianity.

Sometimes, in modern days, *tax ferrets* are employed to ferret out, or find out, property that is escaping taxation. The owners have not made it known to the assessors. These *ferrets* are paid a certain per cent, perhaps half of all the taxes they can bring into the treasury by discovering or revealing this sequestered or hidden property.

The tax ferrets are not known to the public. Can you see any harm that might come from their being employed? Would they be likely to show favors? Is such a plan like *farming* the taxes? Why should not the public officers do this work?

There are all kinds of taxes, — town taxes, city taxes, county taxes, state taxes, national taxes. Some of these taxes are *direct*, some *indirect*. A *direct* tax is one that is placed on a man's land or houses, household goods, personal property, his inheritance or his Forms of taxes



income, or on his bonds, mortgages, stock, or on his stock of merchandise or on his farm implements, his crops, and live stock. This is called the *general property tax*. It seeks to take in everything, on the principle "if you see an article tax it." It is sometimes said that this kind of tax cannot be shifted to someone else, that it must be paid by the owner himself. But this is not always true. For instance, a man owns a house or a farm which he rents to someone else. If the taxes are raised, the owner raises the rent; so the renter



A BAD ROAD

Everything we use passes over the highways. People are dependent on them for the necessities of life.

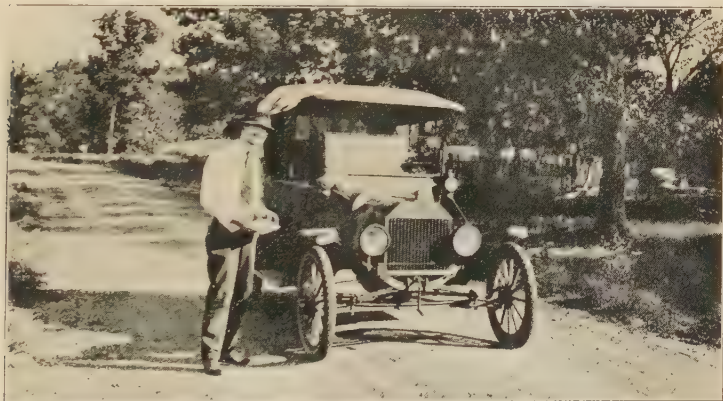
really pays the tax. If a man owns a mortgage on a man's land and has to pay a tax on it, he charges more interest from the borrower, so the borrower pays the tax on the mortgage. However, most of the direct taxes, or the general property tax, of which we have spoken, falls upon the owner and cannot be shifted.

An *indirect* tax is one that is not really paid by the person from whom it is collected, but is shifted to someone else.

#### Indirect taxes

It may be paid in the form of rent to the owner of property, or in higher prices for articles that are bought. For instance, the tariff or customs duty collected

at a port is an indirect tax. The importer of silk may pay 50 per cent of its value in a tariff tax to the United States Government, but he immediately charges the merchant and the merchant charges the buyer 50 per cent more for the silks. So the *buyer* actually pays the tax. A cigar maker who puts up a box of cigars has to pay to the government a tax for the stamp on every box. Of course, he adds the amount of the tax and in some cases more to the price of the cigars, and the one who buys the cigars indirectly pays the tax.



A GOOD ROAD

This is the same road shown on the opposite page. Were not taxes put to a good use when they were spent to improve it?

The national income tax is a *direct* tax, but about all the other taxes of the national government are *indirect*.

The tariff tax is a tax on imports, collected at the port of entry. These tariff taxes are called *imposts*. A *port of entry* need not be a seaport. It may be an inland city to which the foreign goods are sent *in* Tariffs *bond*; that is, the boxes containing them are not to be opened until they reach the city to which they are consigned, and there the receiver pays the customs duties on the goods.

The customs duty, or tariff tax, is *specific* if it is a certain amount per yard, per pound, or per dozen of the goods. It

is *ad valorem* tax if it is a certain per cent of the value of the goods. A tariff is a *protective* tariff if it is levied, not merely to get revenue but to protect the manufacturer or producer in the home market from foreign competition. If a tax is placed on foreign goods when they are imported the home producer can sell his goods higher than he otherwise could. A *protectionist* is sometimes willing to impose so high a tariff tax on foreign goods that the owners or importers cannot afford to bring them into the country at all. This is called a *prohibitive* tariff. Of course, no revenue will come to the government from such goods, because none will be imported. To have a protective tariff is to use the taxing power for industrial purposes, to promote business, manufacturing, and industry. All through our history there have been those who have contended that such use of the taxing power is unconstitutional, or improper, and that all tariffs and taxes should be "for revenue only," — to get money for the support of government or government enterprises.

A tariff tax is an *external* tax. That is, it is levied on goods coming from outside the country. An *internal* tax, or an *excise*, is a tax levied on the product on, consumption, and exchange of goods within the country. The whiskey tax was an excise tax, which caused the "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1794. The farmers of Western Pennsylvania did not like paying a tax to the national government for turning their grains into liquors. A tax on tickets to the theater and the "movies" is an excise tax. The showman adds the tax to the price of his tickets and those who go to the show have to pay. A *sales tax* would be an excise tax, — a tax not on goods but on the selling of goods. The amount of the tax would depend upon the price of the goods; on a loaf of bread or a pair of shoes it would be little, on an automobile or a piano a good deal more. The merchant would add the tax to the price of the goods, and the final

buyer would pay the tax. The man who furnishes the raw material (iron ore, lumber, coal, crude oil, wheat, corn, cattle, cotton, wool, etc.) may sell to the manufacturer, the manufacturer to the commission man, the commission man to the wholesaler, the wholesaler to the retailer, the retailer to the *ultimate consumer*, or the last person who uses it. If a tax were charged every time the goods were turned over from one person to another it would be called a *turnover tax*. Whether a turnover tax is collected every time the goods change hands or only one sales tax be charged from the *raw material* to the *ultimate consumer*, the tax would be passed along to the last buyer. That is where the tax would finally fall.

Under a *sales tax* would a laboring man, or a farmer, with a family of five pay more in proportion to his means than a miserly rich man with no children at all? What advantages do you see in a sales tax? What disadvantages?

*Income* and *inheritance* taxes are what their names indicate — taxes on inheritances and incomes. The Sixteenth Amendment, adopted in 1913, permits Congress to impose an income tax regardless of population, and Congress has done this. The income tax is the largest single source of revenue to the United States Government. In 1920 nearly \$4,000,000,000 came to the national government from incomes and profits. The income tax

Income taxes may be, and are, imposed by either state or nation. In case of an income tax all income is counted from whatever source, — salaries, rents, interest, royalties, profits from business, etc. The income tax may be *progressive*, or *graduated*; that is, the rate of tax may increase as the incomes increase. Exemptions are allowed on small incomes and inheritances. A man with an income of \$1500 or \$2000 may have no income tax to pay, an income of \$150,000 a year may be taxed 25 per cent of it every year, and on incomes still larger, the tax may be 50 per cent. Thus the tax is said to be “graduated” with the size of the income. If a man at

dying leaves his widow and children only \$10,000 or \$15,000, the right to inherit such an amount may not be taxed at all. If one leaves an estate of \$50,000 it may be taxed two or three per cent, when the court turns it over to the heirs. But if a rich estate is worth a million dollars, then when it is transferred to the new owner it may be taxed as much as 25 or 30 per cent, or more.

Have you an income tax in your State? Why is the income tax a good form of tax? Why did the Supreme Court declare the income tax act of 1894 unconstitutional? Is such a tax *direct* or *indirect*? What does the United States Constitution say about direct taxes? (Art. 1, sec. 2.) Read the Sixteenth Amendment. Recite some of the true principles of taxation. Why do people complain of their taxes?

There are many other forms of taxes, or sources of revenue to the State. There are licenses of various kinds, — business licenses, as when an insurance company pays a license for doing business within the State; marriage licenses, automobile licenses, taxi licenses, liquor licenses (formerly), licenses for ferry boats, for auctioneers, peddlers, and many other occupations and privileges. Certain public service enterprises give a portion of their earnings to the city or State. Some revenues come from poll taxes, — for the privilege of voting, though these taxes cannot be collected from men or women without property, nor may citizens be denied the right to vote for failure to pay the tax if the constitution and the law give them that right. We may have representation without taxation, but no taxation without representation.

There are fines, forfeits, and escheats. Fines and forfeits are penalties for misdemeanors. An escheat is property that comes to the State when no heirs can be found.

No State may levy a tax on imports or exports without the consent of Congress, nor may the National Government levy any tax on exports. A State may not tax an *instrumentality* of the United States Government, that is, the *means* by



which the National Government chooses to carry on its business. "The power to tax involves the power to destroy." This was said by the United States Supreme Court in declaring null and void a law of Maryland by which a branch bank of the Second United States Bank was being taxed in Baltimore, (1819). If a bank is a lawful means by which the United States Government wishes to carry on its financial business, then no State should be allowed to prevent the operation of this agency by taxing it out of existence. Likewise the National Government cannot tax the agencies or means by which the states attend to their legitimate affairs. The national income tax, therefore, does not apply to State salaries or to salaries paid in State institutions. National bonds may not be taxed by the State and local government nor may State and local government bonds be taxed by the national government.

Limitations on  
taxation

This presents a serious problem in taxation. A great deal of wealth is being invested in securities that are exempt from taxation, — United States bonds, State bonds, city bonds, county bonds, school bonds, road bonds, and other securities which the law exempts from taxation. Many people are putting their property into these securities and are thus escaping taxation, while the taxes on all other forms of property are made much higher. An amendment to the Constitution by which it is sought to make all these tax exempt bonds subject to taxation has been proposed to Congress. It is not certain that this will be found to be practicable. Would such a provision not make it necessary for national and local governments to pay a higher rate of interest on their bonds in order to sell them? If so, would anything be gained by the change?

Tax exempt  
securities

Government has become a very expensive matter in these days. Government used to be a very simple thing, and the expense of government was very little. Taxes increase as the expenses of government increase. Apart from the great expense of war

Growing expense  
of government

these expenses have grown with the growth of the country, and with the demands of the people for more public benefits and improvements.

In 1789 America had only about 4,000,000 people in a comparatively small area. Now we have more than 100,000,000 people stretching over a wide continent from the Lakes to the Gulf. The people are demanding more of their government and the government is doing more. It is helping agriculture, labor, industry, commerce, education. It is appropriating money in a thousand ways for the benefit of the people and at the demand of the people. The people are demanding from their national, state, and local governments better roads, better schools, finer high school buildings, greater universities, better health provisions, better built and better lighted streets; and there are many government commissions caring for the interests of the people which have to be maintained.

A study of the taxes will show that apart from the expenses of war, the greater part of the money paid by the people in taxes goes for local purposes, chiefly for roads and schools, and for these benefits the people are ready to pay if they are sure to get the worth of their money. If the money is well expended and is not misused and wasted, and if the people actually receive what they pay for, then the main ground of complaint about taxes will be removed. The people will then merely have to decide whether they want the public benefits and improvements enough to pay for them.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Out of \$100 in taxes paid in your community how much of it goes to the State? How much to the county? How much to the city? How much to the township? How much goes to schools and education? How much to building roads? How much to policing and lighting your city? How does the national government get taxes from your community?

2. Have roads been built in your county and worn out before they were paid for? Why? What is the remedy for such misuse of the taxes?

3. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" — Patrick Henry. Is it not also the price of good government? And of the wise and economical spending of public money?

4. Do you know of any way in which tax money has been wasted or misused in your community? Can you suggest any wise ways of saving?

5. Is the spending of public money as carefully safeguarded as an individual citizen would look after his own expenses? Why?

6. What is the meaning of *graft*? Give an illustration.

7. Do all grown persons in your community pay taxes? May a person who pays no money to the public treasury directly pay indirectly? Explain.

8. How is the amount of one's taxes determined? What officers have the right, or power, to fix the amount?

9. What is meant by assessment? What is meant by the rate of taxation? How is the rate determined? Who is the assessor in your community? How is he chosen? What are his duties? If he assesses property too high has the owner and taxpayer any remedy? If he assesses property too low what can be done about it?

10. If a man's property in the community is assessed at \$6000 and he pays \$240 taxes in a year what is the rate of assessment? Would you consider that a high rate? Under such a rate would men seek to prevent their personal property from being taxed? How could they do it? Tell the difference between *real* property and *personal* property. What kinds of personal property are called "invisible"? Why?

11. How can a county, or a city, for example, borrow money? What is a bond?

12. Have you a Board of Tax Review in your community? What are its duties?

13. Is there any public officer, or anyone well informed, whom you can consult on these questions?

## REFERENCES

Edwin A. Kirkpatrick, *Money in the Community and the Home*, in "Community Leaflets," Bureau of Education.

Harry A. Millis, *Financing the War*, in the same.

John Fiske, *Taxation and Government*, in Long's *American Patriotic Prose*, p. 249.

Plehn, C. C., *Introduction to Public Finance*.

Bullock, Charles J., *The General Property Tax in the United States*.

Munro, William B., *The Government of the United States*, Chapter on "Taxation."

Carver, T. N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapter XXXVII, on "The Government's Share."

Seligman, E. R. A., *Essays in Taxation*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

escheat	ěs chēt'	ad valorem	ăd va lō'rem
extortioners	ěks tōr'shun ers	excise	ěk'sīz

## CHAPTER XII

B.

### THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY: LABOR AND CAPITAL

Men are working to produce wealth. They are trying to get the things which will satisfy their wants. This is the reason they are giving their time and labor for wages and salaries, or why they are trying to produce things to use, or to sell for other things.

Men work to  
satisfy their  
wants

Men work because they have so many wants to satisfy. If men could get all they wanted without work, there would be a natural tendency to do nothing but loaf and play and travel, — to seek pleasure and have a good time. There may be some people who like to work, — they would rather work than play; but most people are willing to “take it easy,” to seek their pleasure rather than their toil. They work because they *have* to work, in order to get the means to satisfy their needs. If all the things that men want were as free as air, why should they work for them? Why should they work at all?

As man advances in civilization his wants increase. The half-civilized folk in some countries live with very little work because their wants are few. If the climate is warm they need very few clothes, if any. They are satisfied with rude huts for shelter.

Men's wants  
increase with  
civilization

Their food comes easily to hand, the fruits, the fish, the game. The coon skin for a cap, the moccasins for shoes, the deer skin for a coat, saplings and bark for a tepee, — these are enough to satisfy their needs, and in some warm countries they do not care for even so much. Men who are satisfied to live in this way, with so few wants, never make any progress; they do very little to advance civilization.



But when men come to know more and want to live better ; when they have satisfied the needs of the body — food, shelter, and clothing — and begin to think of what may be called cultural and social wants ; when they feel the need of better food, more clothes, finer houses, with pretty and convenient furniture ; when they begin to desire books and pictures and education and automobiles and recreation, — then with the increase of these wants there is more strain and effort to produce the things that civilized life demands. It is the civilized, cultivated man whose wants are always growing and are almost unlimited. These wants make progress possible in the world.

It is wealth that will enable men to satisfy their wants. What are the factors that produce wealth ? There are three :

<b>Three factors in wealth</b>	<p style="text-align: center;">natural resources, labor, and capital.</p> <p>Let us consider briefly these three sources of wealth.</p>
------------------------------------	---

1. *Natural resources.* Land, water, water power, mines of gold and silver, zinc and lead, coal and iron, oil, forests, quarries, — these are natural resources. Man did not make them ; nature made them. Man can destroy and waste them, or leave them unused, but he can do very little to add to them. He can enrich the soil, and in places he can redeem or recover some of the land from the swamp or the sea, but little can he do to add to the amount of land or water. These great resources on sea and land and under the land are the bounties of nature, and it would seem that they are intended for the common benefit of all. The land is rich that has such sources of wealth. America is such a land, with abundant natural resources.

2. *Labor.* But these resources of nature cannot be made useful without the labor of man. They must be developed, worked up and brought out. The soil may be so rich that if it is "tickled with a hoe it will laugh with a harvest." But the man with the hoe has to do his part. Man must work, not only with hand and body, but with brain, in thinking, planning, and directing.

3. *Capital.* But man's labor cannot be applied very effectively to the land and its resources without capital. We usually think of capital as money, but before there was money there was capital. It was in the form of a tool or implement,—a knife, or gun, or net, or spade, or wooden plow; or in the form of domestic animals, — the horse, the cow, and the dog — which man has tamed for his use. Imagine a man empty-handed and barehanded going on the land to make his living. Could he live by gathering nuts from trees and berries from bushes? Or by catching fish with his hands? Or by killing and skinning wild animals, without any tool? It is possible, and it may be that primitive men, some adventurer, some Robinson Crusoe, has lived like that. But it would not be for long. Man will use his wits and begin to invent things. Out of a flint he will make a knife, out of a stone a hammer. With a sapling and a flint he will make a spear with which to hunt, and out of some wood fiber he will make himself a net with which to catch his fish. He will set snares and traps for his game. And in his tent or cabin home he will devise some kind of utensils to add to his comfort. He may hitch a dog or a cow (if he is so fortunate as to have such an animal) to a rough sled as a means of transporting his food or his goods.

These primitive tools and implements and animals were man's first capital. His labor produced them or made them useful. Labor made capital. Man applied his labor to the land and produced some form of wealth. If he did not consume this wealth or waste it, but used it to produce more wealth, he then had capital. Every time he invented some tool the productive power of his labor was increased. But man has come very far from these primitive conditions. His inventions have been so wonderful, his improvements so great, his production and saved-up wealth so enormous, that society finds itself in possession of capital wealth in multiplied forms — not only in the form of money and credit, but in all kinds of fac-

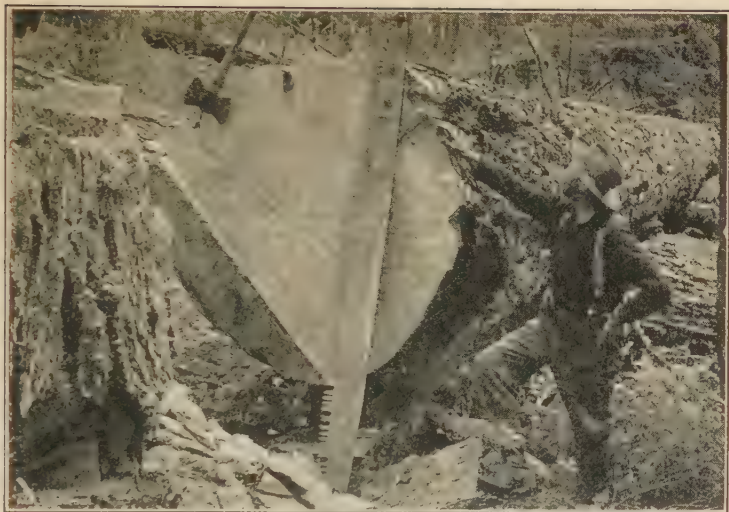
Man's first  
capital



FORESTS are among our most important natural resources, so important, in fact, that the United States government is making a great effort to protect and restore them, for much of our timber has been wasted. Forests furnish us with houses, furniture, fuel, paper, and a most countless things we use every day.



But except as a flood preventive, forests are not useful to man, until by his labor he turns them to his service. Two men could go into the forests to work, but unless they had with them their LARGE SAWS, in other words, their capital,



they could not make their labor accomplish anything. Only by coöperation, — by helping each other and by sawing together under competent direction, — can they **FELL GREAT TREES**. And usually they are obliged by law to take care, in their cutting, not to damage the young trees near by.



Here you see the result of **COMBINING NATURAL RESOURCES, LABOR, AND CAPITAL**. Can you show how man uses waterfalls and mines in the same way ?



tories and mills, improved farms and live stock, railroads and rolling stock, and machinery and implements and buildings of all kinds. Man's labor uses all these in working out more wealth, and it is hard to see how we could get along without this capital, these accumulations of the past.

In early times in America there was not much capital, or accumulated wealth. The land and its resources were the



ORGANIZED COÖPERATION

If you walked through this automobile factory, you would find that there are perhaps a hundred departments, each producing, in quantities, only one part of an automobile. Then there are assembling rooms, where experts fit all the parts together. This method of work makes it possible to finish many more automobiles in a day than if one man had to make every part. Everyone does his share and when the parts are brought together they make an automobile. A factory is organized coöperation.

principal forms of wealth. We were an agricultural people.

**The industrial  
revolution**

Over nine tenths of the people lived in the country or in small villages. There was always an abundance of land a little farther west to which people could go to better their condition.

**Early implements  
of labor** chiefly by hand, very little by machinery.

There were shoemakers and blacksmiths and carpenters and cabinet makers, and masons; but the work-



man usually owned his own tools and his own shop. He was his own boss, his own employer. There were *apprentices* in the shops whom the master workmen trained, and the master carpenter or mason or farmer may have hired



A SPINNING WHEEL

This simple machine was as necessary to a colonial home as a fire-place. Before strands of wool or flax could be woven into cloth, they had to be made into thread. The wool or flax was wound on cards and attached to the distaff, the stick you see at the left. As the wheel turned, the strands were stretched out and twisted, and a long, even thread was made.

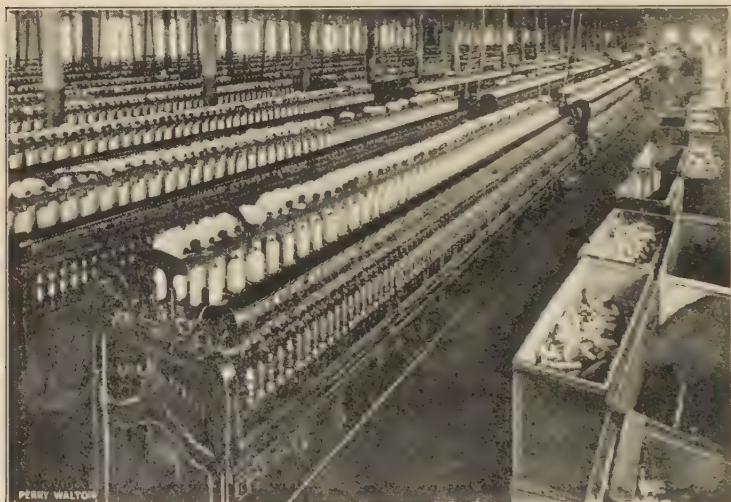
a few "hands" to help him; if so, they all worked together. They were of the same class and not far from the same condition in life; they knew one another as neighbors and fellow workers and it often happened that the hired workmen married into the families of the employers. The tools of work were very simple and old fashioned, — the flail, the wooden plow, the ox-cart, the old spinning wheel, the hand loom. Such were the tools and methods of domestic industry from the earliest times down to within a little over a century ago. It was all very neighborly and homelike among friendly folks.

Inventions and labor-saving machinery have changed all this. The powers of wind and water, of steam and electricity, have been harnessed to powerful machinery in great mills and

Effect of  
inventions and  
labor-saving  
machinery

factories. The workers have left their domestic industry in their homes and little neighborhood shops and have gone into great factories to handle machines, by means of which a worker can produce a thousand or ten thousand times as much as he could produce before. This was the "industrial revolution." We shall notice some of the effects of this wonderful change. The great modern machines, like the cotton gin, the spinning jenny, the power loom, the steam engine, the wonderful printing presses, have increased enormously the output of

manufactured goods. The wealth of the world has increased by leaps and bounds. With such wonderful progress it would seem that there would be no poverty. If everyone could not be rich, he could at least be comfortable. The poor are not poorer, they are better off than they were. But this great new wealth comes chiefly to the few. It has come largely into the hands of comparatively few men. Partnerships and corporations were formed



A MODERN SPINNING ROOM

Almost countless rows of spindles take the place of the one distaff on the old spinning wheel. The cotton has already been bleached and smoothed before it gets to the spinning room. Now it is drawn between steel and leather rollers and twisted on the bobbins which these spindles hold in place. Nine thousand times a minute these bobbins are whirled around.

which could combine the capital of many people, and these capitalists came into the ownership of mines and mills and factories and machinery. Thousands of workmen were employed in one industrial plant. These laborers no longer owned their tools; they had nothing but their wages. They worked at machines. If it were in a shoe factory no one turned

out a whole pair of shoes; but, perhaps, a hundred persons worked at a single shoe, each attending a certain part of the machine. The workmen became almost like machines themselves. The work of the factory laborer had become very hard; his life was one of monotony and drudgery.

The owners of the factories wished to make as much money as possible. They wanted cheap labor, and they wanted the men to work long hours for a day's wage. These capitalists owned the machinery and the tools and the factory in which the workmen had to earn their living. These owners had the power to fix the wages and the hours of labor. They came to look upon labor as a "commodity" to be bought or hired in the open market like any other commodity, under the old "law of supply and demand." They paid no more wages than they were compelled to. They imported cheap labor from Europe and sometimes cheaper labor from Asia. The Euro-

Conflict between  
capital and  
labor

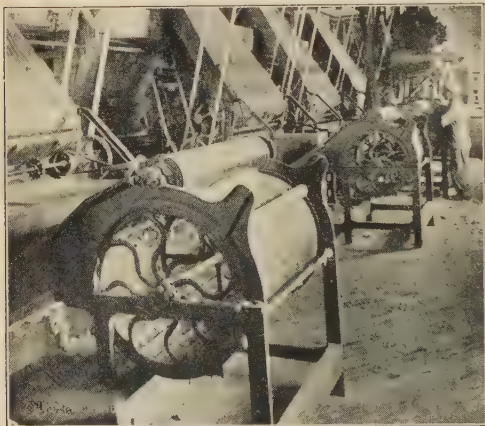


ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

Before Eli Whitney made his cotton gin in 1794, cotton was cleaned of its seeds by slaves who picked the seeds from the cotton bolls by hand, and secured about a pound of cotton fibers a day. Whitney's invention consisted of a wooden cylinder, on which were fastened rows of wire spikes like the teeth of a comb. The cylinder was revolved by means of a handle and the teeth pulled out the lint through a narrow grating and left the seeds in the hopper. The cotton gin was worked by hand and could clean three hundred pounds of cotton in a day—fifty times as much as could be cleaned by hand. Wonderful improvements have been made since.

pean laborer was accustomed to working for a small daily pittance, fifty cents a day or less. As these immigrants from

Europe came in, mostly laboring people, the labor market was "glutted"; thousands of men would be seeking employment at almost any price. If the American workman objected when his wages were lowered, he could hold his job or leave it; but if he left it the owners could find plenty of workmen ready to take the place at the wages offered. The workmen had



MODERN COTTON GINS

Cotton gins are today operated by steam or electricity.

ceased to know their employers; there was no contact or sympathy or understanding between them. Foremen were employed to "hire and fire" the men, and these foremen sometimes acted harshly without regard to the interest and happiness of the workers. All this was the result of the "industrial revolution."

It had come to pass that the workmen were living almost at the mercy of the capitalist owners. Their wages were low, their hours were long, and in many ways the conditions of their labor were unhealthful.

Standard  
of living

Their labor was producing great wealth but the laborers were not sharing in this wealth. Their wages enabled them to exist and that was about all. But the bare necessities of life are not enough to satisfy the American standard of living. The workman should be able to own a home of his own; he should be able to support his family in decent comfort; he should be able to send his children to school and to provide for their needs, with books and good food and warm clothing. The laborer, like other men, is



entitled to rest and recreation. He ought to be able to save something "for a rainy day" and to carry some life insurance as a protection to his family, if he should be called away. If he wishes to contribute something to the church or to benevolent causes, he should be able to do so.

The factory system and the wage system were not giving to the American workman this standard of living. How could his condition be bettered? How could he keep his head above the poverty line, and **Labor Unions** maintain a standard of life that every self-respecting head of a household should have? The intelligent laborers and leaders of labor concluded that there was no better way to reach this end than to organize and look out for themselves. In order to enable the laboring men to act together and protect their interests, Labor Unions were organized. These Unions were first *trade unions*; that is, the men were organized according to different lines of work, — carpenters, miners, bricklayers, teamsters, railway engineers, etc., each group of laborers having a union of its own. Then these trade unions coöperated, or were merged, in one great federation, which is known as the *American Federation of Labor*. The member of a Union is given a *Union card*, which shows his membership wherever he may be. Each member contributes a small amount to a fund which is used to insure the members against sickness or loss of employment. The laborers by their Union seek to protect one another against unfair treatment, lowered wages, or unjust discharge. The main purpose of the Union is to unite all laboring men and have them act together in coöperation and unity, on the principle, "united we stand, divided we fall." In this way, it is thought, they can have a better chance in meeting the demands of their employers.

If in some factory or shop wages are reduced, or if some Union men are discharged without good cause, or if the conditions of labor are unhealthful or unsatisfactory, the Union leaders may *call a strike* in that **The strike** industry. That is, all the men (if they obey the strike order)



would lay down their tools and walk out, or quit work, in a body. This would "paralyze the plant" or "tie up the business," until an agreement is reached by employers and men. If all workmen were *unionized* and acted together, there would be no other workmen to take the place of the strikers. Then the employers would have to come to terms or close up their business.

But labor is not so perfectly organized, and employers are interested in preventing the Unions from controlling all



A PARADE OF STRIKERS

Strikes in big industries concern the public at large. Strikers often parade to show their strength and to win sympathy for their cause.

laboring men. There are non-union workers, men who have not joined any Union, and during a strike many of these are ready to take the places of the strikers. The Union strikers call these men *scabs* or *strike-breakers*. While a strike is going on, the Union men sometimes seek to prevent these so-called scabs from working, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes by forms of violence. The strikers resort to *picketing*; that is, they send out some of their men called *pickets*, who stand near

the gates of the factory or along the approaches to it, and these pickets try to persuade the non-union men coming to work to leave their jobs and to join the strikers; they are offered *strike pay* instead of the wages which they earn from an *unfair* employer.

In a long strike contest, or *labor war*, the success of the laboring men will depend entirely upon how well and how long they can stand together. If the labor forces are divided among themselves, if they fight one another and if there are enough non-union men to fill the shops on the employers' terms, the strike will be a failure, and the Union laboring men will have to go without work or submit to the terms that are offered. In such a contest the employers generally have the advantage. The *strike fund* of the Labor Union is soon exhausted. When the laborer's wages have stopped he cannot pay his rent, or satisfy the butcher, the baker, and the grocer. When he can no longer "stand off" these creditors he is facing poverty and starvation and he must yield. On the other hand, the employer, while he may lose profits and sales and customers, is likely to have accumulations and savings which enable him to live comfortably without any fear of cold and hunger. The question with the employer is, how much loss is he willing to bear in order to defeat the strike and break up the Union?

Which side will win?

The employers, too, have their unions. There is a *National Association of Employers*. The Labor Unions charge that these combined employers keep employed in various cities large numbers of *strike-breakers* ready to be transported to any place where a strike is going on, to break down the strike and defeat the Unions. These employers do not like to have their workmen controlled by the Union leaders. They, therefore, try to prevent their men from organizing into Unions, sometimes discharging them if they join a Union. Or, if they employ Union laborers, they insist that they shall also be free to em-

Employers' unions

ploy non-union laborers. This leads to a conflict between the *closed shop* and the *open shop*.

The closed shop is one closed to all laborers who are not members of the Union. The open shop is one open to non-union men as well as union men, though it is claimed that the open shop always results in having only non-union men employed in it, since the employers of the open shop always give the preference to unorganized laborers. The Union wishes all the men in the shop to be ready and willing to act together in carrying out whatever policy the Union may decide upon. In this way, if a dispute arises with the employer, all the laboring force can stand together and protect their own interests.

The Unions stand for *collective bargaining*; that is, instead of having the foreman or employer make a bargain as to wages and hours with each workman, the Union men wish to bargain as a group, through some committee or delegate or leader. Instead of each carpenter making his contract with some boss building contractor, a thousand carpenters in the Carpenters' Union give to their officers the power to make a contract for all. If each workman had to stand alone, his employer might be able to make harder terms with him. But if none of the men will agree to work unless all do, the men can come nearer to getting what they want. If the employers agree to *collective bargaining*, then a *wage scale* is drawn up in that industry and agreed to by both sides, to last for a year or more. At the end of the time the wage scale may be renewed; but if one side wishes to change it, a new labor struggle may arise.

Sometimes the laboring men engage in what is called a *sympathetic strike*. That is, the laborers in one branch of industry will strike, not because they have any complaint or grievance of their own, but because of sympathy with their fellow workmen on strike in another branch of industry. They want their fellow workmen to win and to get the fair treatment to which they

Open and closed  
shop

Collective  
bargaining

The sympathetic  
strike

think they are entitled. This sympathetic strike is intended to bring such pressure on all business and employers that they and the whole community will be led to insist on a speedy settlement of the dispute. If mine owners decide to reduce the wages of the miners and refuse to renew the wage scale or to go into conference and discuss the matter or to submit to arbitration any dispute that may arise, then the Railway Unions may combine with the miners and also go upon a



A MODERN INDUSTRIAL DINING ROOM

A large factory in Ohio provides lunch with music for its employees at a minimum cost. Good treatment makes loyal employees.

strike, as a means of bringing the public to demand that the mine owners should come to fair terms with the miners. This would be a sympathetic strike, or an alliance of laborers for mutual support.

These labor wars in *basic industries*, like mining and rail-roading, are of great concern to the general public. If coal mining ceases and the railroads stop running, the factories (so dependent on coal for fuel) would have to close and the

business of the country would be paralyzed. The country cannot endure such a universal strike in industries on which

everyone is dependent. How can such labor wars be prevented? Can the two contending sides—labor and capital—be compelled to submit their quarrel to the decision of some disinterested persons, or will they consent to abide by the decision of a fair and disinterested *Board of Arbitration*? Can

the employers and laborers consent to some plan of profit-sharing, by which if profits are large the laborers are paid more; if small, they are paid less? Under such a plan, when losses come instead of profits, would the laborers consent to help bear the losses? May the laborers become stockholders in the factories and mills so that their interests may become identical with the interests of the employers? Should the laborers be forbidden by law to strike and be compelled to continue at work? Would that not be like slavery or involuntary servitude? Should the Government take over the mines and railroads (and other basic industries on which the living of the people depends) and run them in the interest of all the people? When a dispute between capital and labor brings on a strike affecting the production and distribution of the necessities of life, thus threatening the public peace and impairing the public health, what are the rights of the public in such a controversy? Should the State allow this private warfare to go on, or should it step in and establish an industrial court, and bring the contesting parties into court and seek to establish justice between them? These are some of the problems now confronting the people of America in their industrial community

The coal problem is one of the most important. The people are always in fear lest the coal miners and the operators cannot agree and a strike will come and the factories and the homes will be left without fuel. The people have suffered from these strikes repeatedly. In the famous coal



strike of 1902 the price of hard coal (anthracite) went as high as \$30 a ton. Industries were closing down and people were suffering. It seemed to be the policy of the coal managers to *starve the miners out*. The miners offered to arbitrate but the managers refused, and President Roosevelt, backed by public opinion, demanded a settlement. He let it be understood that coal must be furnished and that if the managers would not agree to reasonable terms the Government would take charge of the mines and put the miners to work. When Roosevelt's intention became known the coal mine owners came to terms.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Tell why men work. Why does the civilized man work harder than the uncivilized? Why must he work harder in some climates than in others?

2. What are the three factors in the production of wealth? Which is the most important? Why?

3. What is meant by the "industrial revolution"? Contrast the conditions of labor before and after this great change. How did the change affect the productive capacity of labor?

4. Why has the increased wealth of the world not abolished poverty? Can you show that the poor are much better off than formerly?

5. Explain what is meant by capital, and tell why conflict has arisen between capital and labor.

6. Show in what respect labor is more important than capital and deserves greater consideration. Why is labor not a "commodity"?

7. Should an employer pay all the wages he can afford or merely the "market price"? Why do you think that an employer can pay high wages for labor and still make a great deal of money? Has the disposition, or willingness, or loyalty of the laboring man any commercial value?

8. What is meant by the standard of living? How high should the standard be? Can you show that where there is a low standard of living there is a lower order of civilization?

9. Show how Labor Unions benefit the laboring men. If Labor Unions had their way in full, would they have a monopoly on labor and be able to demand any price they chose for their labor?

10. Explain the terms, "strike," "lockout," "collective bargaining," "wage scale," "scab labor," "picketing," "strike fund," "strike-breaker," "sympathetic strike," "arbitration," "profit sharing," "basic industry."

11. There are many interesting experiments in profit sharing. Explain the meaning of this. Do you know of any business in which all the laborers are partners? What is the advantage of such an arrangement?

12. How are the interests of the public to be protected in a struggle between labor and capital? Should the public be represented, or considered, in the settlement of labor disputes? Do you think President Roosevelt's policy in the coal strike of 1902 was right? Why? Give some account of that strike and also of the coal strike of 1922.

### REFERENCES

1. Carver, Thomas N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapters XXX, XXXI, XXXII, on the "Wage Question," the "Rate of Wages," the "Organization of Laborers."

2. Hill, Howard C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chapter XIII, "Work and the Worker."

### PRONOUNCING LIST

alliance

əl i'ans

basic

bās'ik

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE PROBLEM OF THE IMMIGRANT. THE COMMUNITY "MELTING POT"

America was first settled chiefly by the English. The original thirteen colonies were English, although before the American Revolution began there was a sprinkling of Dutch and Danes and Germans, **British America** and Irish and Scotch-Irish. All these national elements took part in the War for Independence. But the country was predominantly English and it remained so for many years after independence. It was the English pioneers who started westward from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas to conquer the wilderness and settle the West.

In the early years of the 19th century the people of America were nearly all either *natives* or children of natives. Now about thirty millions of Americans, nearly one third of our population, are either foreign **Early population** born, or the children of parents one of whom, at least, was born in a foreign country. This has come about from the great increase of immigration.

Before 1820 the immigrants to America came chiefly from Great Britain and Ireland, but the immigration was not very heavy. Following the potato famine in Ireland in 1846 many thousands of Irishmen came **Early immigration** to America. About the same time, following revolutionary troubles in Germany in 1848, many thousands of Germans came. These Irish and Germans came to escape oppression and hard conditions at home and for the sake of

greater opportunity and greater freedom in America. By 1854 in a single year as many as 400,000 foreigners came to America from Europe, mostly Germans and Irish, though there were some Scandinavians, that is, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians. They were quickly naturalized, though a very bitter opposition arose to the coming of these *aliens* and to their voting and taking part in American politics.



FUTURE AMERICANS

Their inspection at Ellis Island over, these immigrants are waiting for trains to take them to their new homes. As they cannot yet read or even speak English, some of them have their names and destinations written on tags and pinned on them.

This anti-alien spirit was expressed by the *Know-nothings*, who announced "America for Americans" as their watchword.

Opposition to  
"aliens"

The great majority of native Americans, however, were willing for these oppressed peoples to come and enjoy the rights of American citizens. These hardy Germans and Irish soon adopted American ways and American principles of government.

They became excellent citizens and many of them became leaders in American life.

Immigration declined during the Civil War, as it did during the World War, but after the Civil War it began again with renewed volume. For twenty years the im- Change in the nationality of the immigrants migration continued to be of the same kind as before, from western and northern Europe, — Germans, Irish, Scotch, English, Welsh, and Scandinavians. But following, say about 1885, immigrants began to pour in from southern and eastern Europe, — Italians, Sicilians, Greeks, Jugo-Slavs, Slovaks, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Armenians, Croatians, Czechs, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and others.

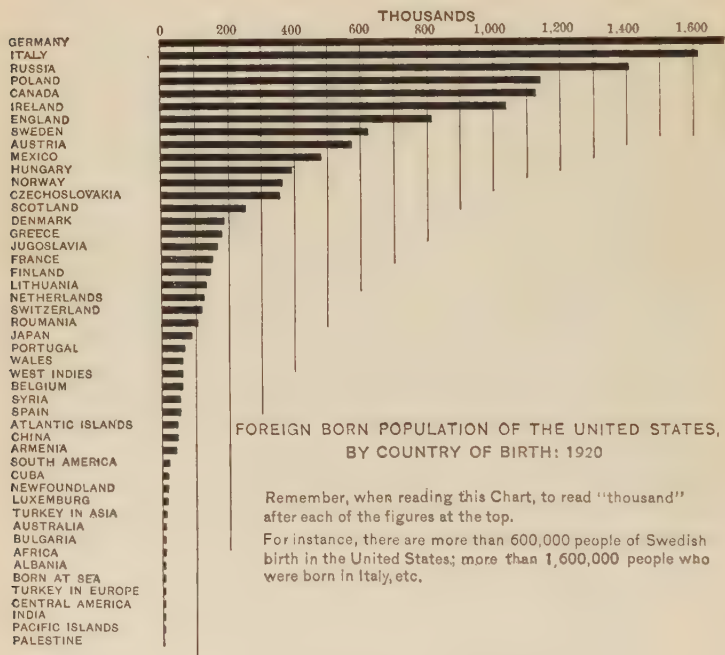
There were thirty-nine different races in our population. Among them were Jews and Gentiles, men and women of all languages and religions. With all these, together with our negroes, and some Mexicans, A mixed population Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese, it seemed that America was becoming a conglomeration of all the races and nationalities on earth. How could any common life or national unity come out of such a population? For a time, before the World War, more than a million fresh immigrants were coming into America every year.

The consequence was that new demands arose for the restriction of immigration. In 1885 the Alien Contract Labor Law was passed by Congress which forbade Restrictions on immigration business corporations from bringing over laborers under contract to work for them alone.

In 1910 an immigration act put a tax of \$4.00 on each immigrant and also forbade the admission of certain objectionable persons, — epileptics, those having tuberculosis or other contagious diseases, those who might become public charges, polygamists, anarchists, and all Mongolian laborers. In 1917 another immigration act of Congress increased the tax to \$8.00 per person and applied a *literacy test* which requires all immigrants over 16 years of age (if not blind or dumb) to be



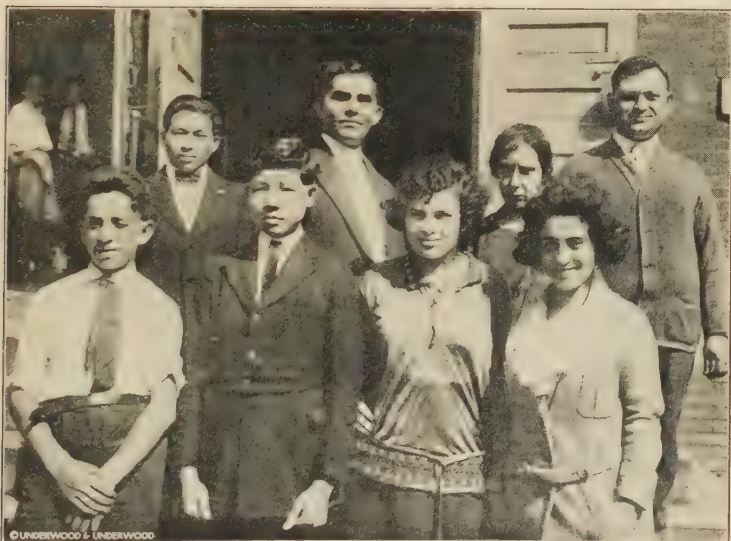
able to read in some language. Many could be excluded under this provision. In 1921, since immigration was rising again, Congress passed an act restricting for 14 months the number of immigrants from any country to 3 per cent of the number from that country in 1910 in America. This plan has been continued though it has worked some hardships.



It is the part of the *Melting Pot* to melt all these races down into good Americans. Can America take them in and *assimilate* them and make them into one united *homogeneous* people, — that is, a people who are at all alike, with one national purpose and one loyalty? If you are thinking of taking twenty different kinds of food into your stomach at once, you must consider whether your body can digest them all and assimilate or work

The work of the  
"melting pot"

them together into one common mass of life-giving food that will make blood and bone and sinew and muscle. So we wonder whether all these peoples, so unlike in language and habits, can be taken into the *body politic* of America, so as to become food and strength to the nation. Will all these people from Europe still hold allegiance to their home country and love their



MATERIAL FOR THE MELTING POT

A group of typical nationalities in a Washington School. They represent, from left to right, front: Poland; China; Lithuania; Rumania. Rear: Japan; Honduras; Cuba; Russia.

fatherland better than they do America? Will America become a "polyglot boarding house" with every nationality speaking its own tongue and knowing no other? Or, can all these immigrants be merged into *one people*, speaking *one* language, having *one* allegiance to *one* government and *one* flag? How shall all the newcomers be made into true and patriotic American citizens? This is the problem of immigration and this is the work of the melting pot.

## FACTS FOR DECLARATION OF INTENTION

### U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR NATURALIZATION SERVICE

**NOTE**—A copy of this form will be furnished by the clerk of the court, the Chief Naturalization Examiner, or the public-school teacher to each applicant for a declaration of intention, so that he can at his leisure fill in the answers to the questions. After being filled out the form is to be returned to the clerk, to be used by him in properly filling out the declaration. Care should be used to state as near as can be remembered the day, month, and year of arrival, as well as the name of the vessel on which the alien emigrated to this country.

**TO THE APPLICANT**—The fee of one dollar required by law for the declaration, must be paid to the clerk of the court before he commences to fill out the declaration of intention. No fee is chargeable for this blank, and none should be paid for assistance in filling it out, as the Naturalization Examiner or the public-school teacher will help you free of charge.

My name is David Benjamin Age:        years.  
(Alien should state here his true, original, and correct name in full.) (Give age at last birthday.)

Also known as         
(If alien has used any other name in this country, that name should be shown on line immediately above.)

Occupation:       

       Complexion:       

To become an American citizen is a privilege not extended to all aliens. The right is withheld from aliens of other races than black and white, and from those who are of criminal or of immoral character, or who cannot read or write English.

There are four steps which an alien must take to become an American citizen :  
(1) He must file a Declaration of Intention ; (2) a Certificate of Arrival ;  
(3) a Petition for Naturalization ; (4) he must appear before a judge for an examination and declare on oath his allegiance to the United States.

No.

FORM 118.—CERTIFIED COPY OF DECLARATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
NATURALIZATION SERVICE

TRIPPLICATE  
(To be given to the person making  
the declaration)

# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## DECLARATION OF INTENTION

**Invalid for all purposes seven years after the date hereof.**

ss :

In the                      Court  
of

I,                                     , aged            years,  
occupation                                     , do declare on oath that my personal  
description is: Color                     , complexion                     , height        feet        inches,  
weight            pounds, color of hair                     , color of eyes                       
other visible distinctive marks                                     

To accomplish these four steps, our Naturalization Law requires the filing of five papers by the applicant, two of which are shown on this page. Not less than two years nor more than seven years after filing his Declaration of Intention, he must take out his "second papers," shown on the next page. The Certificate of Arrival contains date of arrival, port, name of

## REQUEST FOR CERTIFICATE OF ARRIVAL

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
NATURALIZATION SERVICE

FOR USE OF ALIENS ARRIVING AFTER JUNE 29, 1906

Notice to Alien: Send this form, completely filled out, to Commissioner of Naturalization, Washington, D. C. When certificate of your arrival has been obtained, appropriate instructions will be mailed to you.

Notice to Clerk of the Court: For information regarding Certificates of Arrival, see Rule 5 of the Regulations.



COMMISSIONER OF NATURALIZATION,  
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Please obtain certificate showing my arrival in the United States and forward it to .....

My name is .....

(Give true and original name in full.)

~~NOTE~~—FOR USE OF ALIENS WHO ARRIVED BEFORE JUNE 29, 1906.

## FACTS FOR PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

Clerk of court and applicant should read these instructions carefully.

Clerks of courts should refuse to execute petitions for aliens who arrived in the United States after June 29, 1906, until certificate of arrival is furnished the clerk by the Bureau of Naturalization, after request of the alien on Form 2226. (See rule 5 of the Regulations.)

A copy of this form (2214) should be furnished by the clerk of court to each applicant for a petition for naturalization who arrived in this country on or before June 29, 1906, so that he can at his leisure fill in the answers to the questions.

The clerk of the court must collect the fee of \$4 before he commences to fill out the petition.

No fee is chargeable for this blank or for the execution thereof by the clerk or deputy clerk.

After being filled out, this form is to be taken by the applicant to the clerk, to be used by him in properly filling out the petition.

Witnesses must be citizens of the United States. If any witness is a naturalized citizen, he must take his certificate of citizenship, or so-called second paper, to the court when the petition is filed, and also when it is heard by the court.

My name is .....

(Alien should state here in true and correct name in full.)

DUPLICATE  
(To be retained by the  
Bureau of Naturalization)

# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

Be the Honorable the Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of Bronx:

The petition of .....

First. My place of residence is .....

(Give number and street.)

Arredy Rind, respectfully sheweth:  
New York City, N. Y.

Second. My occupation is .....

Third. I was born on the ..... day of .....

anno Domini 1 ..... at .....

on or about the ..... day of .....

Fourth. I emigrated to the United States from .....

anno Domini 1 ..... and arrived in the United States, at the port of .....

the vessel .....

(If the alien entered the United States by vessel, the character of his occupation or trade at the time of his entry should be given.)

day of .....

anno Domini .....

ship, etc. Then comes his Petition for Naturalization — his request to the United States to make him a citizen. If he can answer questions about our government, he may then take his oath of citizenship.

Why have European peoples cared to come to America? Have they come because they were poor and have heard that America is a country where they might become rich? Have Russian Jews come in order to escape race persecution? Have Italians come because they had relatives here who had sent money over to bring them? Have Germans come to escape serving a number of years in the army?

What is meant by the "melting pot" as applied to immigration?

Discuss the question, "Resolved that immigration should be further restricted."

Honest and industrious laborers are always a benefit to a country. America has received millions of such immigrant laborers. They have helped to build America; without their labor the work could not have been done. It has been these immigrants chiefly who have done the heavy and dangerous work of the country, — in mines and sewers, and ditches, in buildings, in factories, and in constructing our railroads and canals. It has been estimated that the ten million foreign born who were in America in 1910 were adding every year fully \$600,000,000 of wealth to the country by their toil. Many of the great men of America were foreign born, Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, Robert Owen, Jacob Riis, Franklin K. Lane, Louis Agassiz, Oscar Straus, James J. Davis, and many others. Many of these foreign born patriots have not only served America in peace but have been prompt to respond in time of danger and war, offering their lives, if need be, to their adopted country.

These men became American citizens by their own free will; the native born had no choice in the matter. And it must be remembered that all of us, if we go very far back, were once immigrants, or the children of immigrants. The native Indians are the only 100 per cent full-blooded Americans. How long does one need to be in America until he can be said to *have a right* to be here and be counted as a true American? Is it a question of time or a matter of spirit and loyalty?



Americans generally believe that these immigrants should be naturalized (see p. 228) and become full citizens and help to support the country. They do not like to see them come and merely use the country as an opportunity to earn high wages which they save up to take back or send back to their home country. American workingmen very rightly object to the lowering of their standard of living. They do not wish to have their working conditions made harder by being brought into com-

Immigrants and  
the labor  
problem



A NOON HOUR CLASS IN AMERICANIZATION

These men who have recently come to America are learning the English language and some of the first principles in American Government.

petition with cheap labor from Europe. Thousands of foreign born laborers, who have been used to living on 40 cents a day, come here and live in shacks and box cars, or in little shanties in the mining districts, or six in a room in lodging houses. They live without their families, and without the ordinary comforts of home. So living, they are able to take away jobs from American workingmen or lower their wages and make it impossible for the American to support his home as it ought to be supported.

Cheap labor

There is a deep feeling that such a thing ought to be prevented.

This is the chief influence that has been supporting the demand in recent years for a further restriction of immigration.

Decent working conditions must be preserved in America for the laborers, who have a right to comfortable homes, with children whom they can send to school. These foreigners do not like long hours and low wages and hard conditions of toil any more than our native workers. But they are in a strange land, ignorant and poor and friendless, unable to understand our language. In their dire need these hard terms of labor are often forced upon them by the greed of unscrupulous corporations and employers who are willing to *exploit* them and take out of their labor all the money they can. Instead of having the best people helping them and befriending them and protecting them from being imposed upon, these immigrants come in contact with some of the worst sides of American life. Since they cannot speak English, employment agencies often cheat them and sharpers trick them out of their savings.

This naturally tends to make the foreigners clannish and to bring them together in groups in our large cities, where they speak only their own language and read only foreign-language newspapers. In consequence, also, of the mistreatment they have received they do not know whom to trust, and they are disposed to keep their money hidden away instead of putting it in the banks, although lately the postal savings banks have attracted their deposits, which shows they have confidence in Uncle Sam. It will go a long way in solving the problem of the immigrants and to break up their clannishness, if the native Americans will show toward them a friendly and helpful spirit, give them a fair chance in making a living, protect them from injustice, and lead them to feel that America is still "a land of freedom, an asylum for the poor and oppressed of other lands" where human rights are still protected.

Certain agencies and influences have been aroused to help the immigrants and to Americanize them. This does not

mean to change all their customs and habits, but to lead them to understand America and to become loyal citizens of this country. Laws are passed for their protection. The Immigrants' Protective League **Americanizing the immigrant** exists for this purpose. Local and private organizations in various parts of the country seek to teach the immigrants and to lead them to love America. Christian and Jewish Associations help in this work. The Federal Bureau of Immigration protects them at the ports of entry, and while they are detained for mental and physical examination, they are provided with accommodations at the immigrant stations, with playgrounds for the children and concerts for the older people; and the Bureau helps to distribute the immigrants to places where they can find work.

Sometimes the immigration agents are compelled by law to send some poor immigrants back to the country from which they came, causing great distress. It may be that agents of steamship companies in Europe have deceived these poor people and have taken their money to bring them to America when they might have known they could not be admitted. If this is proved the immigrants are sent back at the expense of the companies. Our consuls at foreign ports seek to make known our restrictions on immigration and tell the people who may not be admitted.

The chief hope, however, must come from the work of the church and the public schools. The churches have mission stations in the foreign sections of our cities and an effort is made to train the children of the foreign born and prevent them from breaking away from all the restraints of their parents' religion. The public schools take these children and teach them the English language, which is difficult for their fathers and mothers to learn. The children in the schools learn some American history and the principles of our American government and to honor the American flag. This is helping to *Americanize* the immigrants. The parents watch with interest the prog-

ress of their children. These children grow up to be good Americans and in the third generation it is impossible to tell them from Americans whose ancestors have been in America from earliest times. The children in the schools teach one another and all meet on the playground on terms of equality.

This is the way the *melting pot* does its work, and will continue to do it, if the pot is not filled too full; that is, if the tide of newcomers is not too heavy for the schools and churches and industrial life of America to take in and absorb. We may find at times that reasonable restrictions on immigration may be necessary to save us from some nationalities that cannot be Americanized.

*Naturalization* is the process by which an alien becomes a citizen. To do this he must apply for citizenship after reaching the age of 18, by going before a court and  
 Aliens and naturalization      “declaring his intention” fully two years before full citizenship can be acquired. He must renounce all allegiance to any foreign country of which he has been a subject, give up all claim to any title of nobility, if he had any, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States and swear loyalty to our Constitution and our laws. The alien is then given his “first papers” and after he has resided in the United States five years, if he again applies, he is given a certificate of naturalization and becomes a full citizen. He then has all the privileges of a native born citizen, except that he cannot become President or Vice President of the United States. (Why not?)

As a rule the naturalized citizens are loyal to their adopted country. Like native citizens, they have been ready to fight America's battles, as seen in all of our wars. But in foreign wars there has always been some fear of the “foreigners” among us. It was so in 1798 when we were threatened by a war with France. Then the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed, chiefly from fear of foreigners in the country. During the twenty years before the World War over 15,000,000 foreigners came to America. Many of them, perhaps half, had

not become naturalized. They had no interest in America, except to get a job and send money to their families back home. Naturally it was thought during the World War that such a large body of foreigners, owing allegiance to other countries,



THE OATH OF CITIZENSHIP

"I HEREBY DECLARE ON OATH, THAT I ABSOLUTELY AND ENTIRELY RENOUNCE AND ABJURE ALL ALLEGIANCE AND FIDELITY TO ANY FOREIGN PRINCE, POTENTATE, STATE OR SOVEREIGNTY, AND PARTICULARLY TO (NAME OF SOVEREIGN OF COUNTRY), OF WHOM I HAVE HERETOFORE BEEN A SUBJECT; THAT I WILL SUPPORT AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST ALL ENEMIES, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, AND THAT I WILL BEAR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE TO THE SAME."

might become a serious menace to America. Public sentiment demanded that their numbers should be restricted and that those already here should be "Americanized" and turned into loyal citizens.

When these new citizens come to America and become



naturalized they should be received into the national fold with becoming ceremony. In the great cities, thousands are made citizens every year. The only persons who greet them are the Judge, and the Clerk of the Court who administers the oath. The "foreigners" may be bunched according to nationality. No one welcomes them or says anything to them. The proceedings are entirely mechanical. There is no ceremony worthy of the important event in the lives of these new citizens. Why should not these cities where the new citizens are being received into the national community conduct the initiation with such ceremonies as will impress the citizens, old as well as new, with the importance of what is being done?

The city of Rochester, New York, recently gave a formal reception to its newly-made citizens. There was an evening assembly of thousands of citizens in the large hall of the Chamber of Commerce. The newly-made citizens were there, with their families, friends, and invited guests. Patriotic songs were sung; the city band gave a concert for half an hour. Young girls from the high school sang familiar songs, the audience joining in the chorus. There was a tableau representing the liberation of the thirteen colonies. This was followed by a fitting address. "Then to appropriate music Boy Scouts carrying eight American flags marched upon the platform. The Mayor of Rochester called out the name of each individual entitled to citizenship, whereupon the applicant ascended the platform, passed under the American flags, was welcomed by the hand of the Mayor and presented by a young girl, dressed in the costume of Columbia, with a little American flag and a copy of the Constitution of the United States. Then the Clerk of the Court handed to the man his certificate of citizenship duly signed. Thus the new citizens were made to feel that they were taking their places among men and women who expected them to measure up to their new privileges and duties. After having received

such a welcome it would be hard to imagine any one of these new citizens falling away in his patriotism or his loyalty to the land of his adoption."<sup>1</sup>

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Name some of the benefits that have come to America from immigration. Tell something about a number of notable men of foreign birth who have rendered distinguished service to America.

2. Why have American workingmen objected to unrestricted immigration? Tell why you think they are right in this.

3. Tell how immigrants have been mistreated in America. What is being done to help them?

4. Tell what is being done to "Americanize" the foreigner. How do the churches and the public schools help in this?

5. How do the immigration authorities decide if immigrants are "likely to become public charges"? What classes of immigrants are excluded? How may they know before leaving their home country whether they can be admitted?

6. How would you define an American?

7. Can you name some poems and stories that have for their themes desirable American characteristics?

8. Can you plan a pageant, play, or charade that will illustrate the "melting pot," showing what each nationality has contributed to American life?

You would enjoy reading Edward Bok's *Story of a Dutch Boy*.

### REFERENCES

1. In A. W. Long's *American Patriotic Prose* see the following:

(1) F. A. Walker, "The Restriction of Immigration," p. 247.

(2) E. A. Steiner, "On Becoming an American Citizen," p. 317, and "What I Should Like to Tell the Immigrant," p. 316.

(3) Henry van Dyke, "The Blending of Races," p. 4.

(4) Samuel W. McCall, "America the Melting Pot," p. 320.

(5) Woodrow Wilson, "To Newly-Made Citizens," p. 322, and "The Spirit of America," p. 266.

From *Community Leaflets*, United States Bureau of Education, see the Lesson on "Immigration," by Miss Leona Powell and William J. Lauck.

2. Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, pp. 68-76.

3. Reed, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 38, on "Immigration."

<sup>1</sup> Frederick E. Crane, Judge of the Court of Appeals, of New York.

4. Hill, Howard C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chapter VI, on "Children of the Melting Pot."

5. For more advanced study see:

- (1) E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*.
- (2) Commons, John R., *Races and Immigrants in America*.
- (3) Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, W. J., *The Immigration Problem*.
- (4) Steiner, Edward A., *On the Trail of the Immigrant*.
- (5) Haskin, Frederic J., *The Immigrant, An Asset and a Liability*.
- (6) Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, Chapter I.

Two very readable and interesting books by foreign born citizens who have become good Americans are Mary Antin's *The Promised Land* and Edward Bok's *The Americanization of Edward Bok*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

Jugoslav	yū'gō slāv	Sigel	sē'gěl
alien	āl'yēn	Croatian	krô ā'shăn
anarchist	ăn'ār klist	Czech	chĕk
homogeneous	hō mō jē'nē ūs	assimilate	ă sim'yī lāt
polyglot	pōl'y glōt	Riis	Rees
Gallatin	gāl'ā tīn	Agassiz	ăg'ā sē
Schurz	shōōrts	unscrupulous	ŭn scrōō'pū lŭs

## CHAPTER XIV

## TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Suppose you could fly by airplane to a strange and distant planet and there you found people somewhat like ourselves. If you asked yourself, "Are these people civilized?" how could you decide? If you saw cities and churches and schoolhouses and well-built homes, — would these things lead you to believe that you had landed in a civilized country? If you saw *good roads* leading from city to city would that not be almost certain proof of civilization? Do not the most highly civilized people have the best roads? Do not the backward people have the poorest roads? *Good* roads have never existed among an uncivilized people, and *bad* roads have never existed for very long among a highly civilized and progressive people.

A test of  
civilization:  
good roads

If a community wants to grow and become prosperous it must be able to communicate with other communities. Travel must be made easy and goods must be carried back and forth. Good gravel roads or hard surface highways; good railroads and trolley lines; good waterways and canals, all these are necessary to the building up of communities and to their living in communication with one another.

Some scientists who have been watching the planet Mars for years insist that certain lines on its surface are canals, and they conclude from this not only that Mars is inhabited but that the inhabitants are civilized. Do you see why?

Countries vary in their degree of civilization. The difference is largely a question of roads and transportation. We can see the difference in the actual experiences of men. Two Americans were traveling in a donkey cart in China. They were anxious

People who  
never leave  
home

to reach a certain village to put up for the night. As the shades of night were falling fast they stopped at a farmer's hut to ask how far it was beyond the hill to the village. "I do not know," said the Chinese farmer; "how should I know? *I live here.*" The village was only three miles away, but there that poor peasant farmer had lived all his life without ever seeing the village over the hill or without ever being three miles from home!

The people around him were not used to traveling about, or communicating with one another or transporting goods. It is hard for us to think of people living so, but we may be sure that, if they do so live, they live in a benighted and backward world, without much hope of improvement or progress. These same Americans who had had this experience in China afterwards rode on one of the fine transcontinental trains from San Francisco to Chicago. They covered more miles in a day than they could have done in a week of travel in China.

Transporting goods is more important than travel. How have men in the past carried their goods from place to place?

Primitive man first dragged things along on the ground by main strength. If he had the strength he lifted the burden to his back. The blacks in Africa are not yet beyond this stage in transportation. Hundreds of black porters carry on their shoulders the ivory, rubber, and other freight from the interior to the coast for shipment to the outside world. In their stage of civilization they have never even advanced so far as to use animals as beasts of burden.

Men further on in civilization have used litters and skids as a means of conveying things. Man's first beast of burden was his wife, who carried the loads, and did the hard work, while he did his share by hunting for food and in fighting his enemies.

Man improved on the woman burden-bearer when he got the donkey, the camel, the elephant, the mule, the ox, or the dog, and made these animals carry his load. He first used

Progress in  
transportation

Early means of  
carrying goods



poles and rough sleds. When the wheel was invented man had come upon one of the greatest discoveries in the history of transportation. It may have been suggested by someone's seeing a small log rolling down **The wheel** a hill. With the wheel men could do away with the skid or the sled and its friction. Then the ox, the mule, or the man could pull four or five times as much as before. We are accustomed to think that the time never was when men did not have things moving on wheels, and we may think that any people could have thought of that simple contrivance. But, as a matter of fact, whole races of people have lived and died without ever having seen a wheel.

The idea of the wheel never came to the American Indian till the white man showed him. A good many ages went by before the white man learned its uses. The improvements he has made in the wheel have indeed been wonderful. Man has come along in civilization by slow stages in freeing himself from carrying his burdens on his own back.

On the water, on lake or river, the Indian did quite well with his birch canoe and paddle. He may have carried a deer in his canoe across the little lake to his **Transportation by water** camp, but that was about the limit of his load.

Thus the birch canoe was builded  
 In the valley by the river  
 In the bosom of the forest  
 And it floated on the water  
 Like a yellow leaf in autumn.

From *Hiawatha* by Longfellow.

The contrast is impressive between the mighty steamboats of the present and the birch canoe of Indian days. Transportation by land was always harder than by water. The lakes and rivers were the natural highways. A flat boat, or raft of logs, carrying a lot of freight (household goods, horses, cattle, hogs, or corn) could float down the river with the current, being poled away from the banks and over the shallows.

Travelers and immigrants came to the new lands of the west chiefly by way of the rivers, and along the valleys of the rivers they first settled. For carrying along the seacoast and across the seas the sailing vessel was the only reliance until the 19th century.

The greatest achievement of man in the art of carrying things over land was the invention of the locomotive. What a wonderful thing it is to make the steam do the pulling in carrying a long train of loaded freight cars across the continent! The horse and the ox are still of much use, but for carrying big loads for long distances the locomotive has made them decidedly "back numbers." The locomotive engine is the *horse power* of the day.

If we go back no farther than when our Constitution was made in 1787, it is marvelous to note the changes that have occurred in travel and transportation. Stage-coaches and horseback for passengers, and pack horses for freight were the means then used. The roads were rough and miserable; in many places there were no roads at all,—only a blazed trail through the forest. It took two days to go by coach from New York to Philadelphia. Nowadays it takes two hours by train. Travel was difficult, tedious, uncomfortable, expensive in money and time. Think of how Washington lived as far as getting about was concerned. He never saw an automobile, or a trolley car, or a railroad or a steamship, or an airplane, or a macadamized road. He could travel hardly faster and not much more comfortably than Abraham could on the back of a camel or a dromedary, more than 3000 years before.

It took a month for letters to go from Charleston to Richmond, Virginia; six days from Boston to New York. It took 20 days to transport freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in the old canvas-covered conestoga wagon.

So late as 1852 a man traveling from New York City to Terre Haute, Indiana, went by river from New York to Troy;

by canal from Troy to Buffalo; by lake from Buffalo to Toledo; by canal from Toledo to LaFayette; and again by the old Wabash canal from LaFayette to Terre Haute. It took him six weeks to make the journey, a distance which now may be covered in 30 hours. Compare these modes of travel with the "lightning express" trains that carry passengers to and fro across the continent, or with the luxurious steam-

Hardships and  
delay in early  
travel



ALL THE WORLD IS OUR NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR

The modern liner, like a floating hotel, crosses the Atlantic in comfort and safety in a week's time.

ships that plow the deep with such rapid speed that five days are enough for crossing the broad Atlantic.

The airplane as a transport is still in the experimental stage, but enough has been learned by experience to lead careful men of science to predict that not many years will go by before travel and transportation through the air will be a common experience, and that the "air route" will be as safe as it is rapid. A hundred miles an hour or more will then be schedule time!

The airplane

In 1807 began the history of successful water navigation by steam. Then the famous *Clermont* of Robert Fulton steamed from New York to Albany. Not many years after, steamboats were plying on our many rivers. In 1838 the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic under her own steam. The croakers predicted that it could never be done as the vessel, it was said, could never carry enough fuel for the voyage!

Beginnings of  
modern travel

Good hard roads by land began with the work of McAdam, a Scotchman. He saw roads in his neighborhood that were bad, loose, rough, tedious, and dangerous to travel on, and very costly to repair. He tried experiments at his own expense and came to the conclusion that roads should be built of broken stone, and that they should be raised above the surrounding roadside and properly drained. McAdam first built a short piece of such a road in 1815, and by 1823 the value of *macadamized* roads was generally recognized.

One man cannot build a road. Building a road is a community enterprise, and, as a rule, the larger the community the better the road. When only the local community cares for the roads they are likely to be bad. Formerly the farmers came out once a year with their teams to "work the roads" and thus save their road tax. They often made the road worse than it was. A single neighborhood cannot build the best roads. Building the main highways, the "main traveled roads" over which people must travel to get from one part of the State or country to the other parts, is the work of the larger communities, of the State and the Nation.

Road building is  
community work

Such large enterprises need the coöperation of thousands or millions of people with their greater means. The benefits come to all. Even those who do not use the road at all are benefited, because their mail and parcels and the products of the farms and the markets can be brought to them more easily. The national and state governments are now spending large sums of money in building bridges and culverts and

good gravel roads, or hard surface concrete roads, grading and draining and dragging and keeping the roads in repair.

People are willing to tax themselves in large sums in order to have the benefits which good roads bring. The farmers especially are interested. They can get to town and market their products more easily; they can attend social gatherings and see more of one another; they can haul much larger loads; they can get their daily newspaper and their mail, since the post office free delivery carrier travels only on improved roads; and by the enlarged use of the automobile they can travel to their capital cities, to conventions, and to different parts of the State. So good roads do much to unify the people of different communities, to unite the country and the town, and to enable them to coöperate in mutual helpfulness.

**Benefits of good roads**

The progress and changes in communicating messages are even more wonderful than the changes in transportation. The electric telegraph has been in use since 1844, the Atlantic cable since 1867, the telephone since 1876. By the telegraphic dispatch one may send a message under the sea or around the world within a few minutes. The newspapers use thousands of words of telegraphic news every day, spreading before their readers the important happenings all over the world. The farmer can read the market reports and the weather forecasts every morning. These things would all seem impossible to the men of Washington's time.

**Communication**

The telephone has within a single generation revolutionized the whole field of communication. Myriads of telephone wires stretching for over twenty millions of miles are found overhead or underground in our cities and throughout the country. Nearly every home has its telephone. Social engagements are made, business is transacted, physicians are summoned, and all kinds of messages are sent over the wires. Farmers are connected. They can "visit" with their neighbors over the telephone;

**The telephone**



they can send their orders to town and have their parcels sent out over good roads by parcels post. One can easily call up distant cities and give the family message or transact important business by word of mouth. So constant and universal and essential is the work of the telephone that one wonders how our fathers or grandfathers ever got along without it. The telephone system covering the country is a wonderful development, all of it having been brought to pass within the life of a man not yet fifty years old.

Look up the Bell Telephone System, learn how extensive it is and how it does its work. It is said that it answers over 30 million calls every day.

In the war of 1812 the battle of New Orleans was fought two weeks after the treaty of peace was made. Why was this so?

And now comes the *wireless*, more marvelous still.

The wireless      Without lines  
                                 or wires  
stretching through space,  
receivers catch messages out  
of the air. A man in New

Jersey may send a message to a friend on an ocean steamer a thousand miles at sea. A concert in Pittsburgh or a sermon in Philadelphia may be heard in Chicago, and, by an amplifier, a whole audience may hear them. No passenger vessel goes to sea now without its wireless apparatus, and any vessel can now give its signals of danger and distress (S. O. S. call) and bring other vessels to the rescue. It all seems incredible, like a new age of miracles.



LISTENING IN

In his radio set, this boy has as great a wonder-worker as the genie which whisked Aladdin to any country he wanted to see. Sitting in his home in Indiana, miles from a railroad station, in one evening he can hear a concert in San Francisco or Havana, Cuba, and Grand Opera in New York. He can catch bits of conversation from ships at sea. And we are told that the possibilities of development of the radio are almost unlimited.

Thousands of people standing in the streets around Madison Square Garden, in New York City, heard with perfect clearness every word of President Harding's address delivered in Arlington Cemetery, near Washington, at the ceremonies for America's "Unknown Dead," on November 11, 1921. At the same time people in San Francisco were hearing the same address. Marconi says there are no limits to the possibilities of wireless communication.

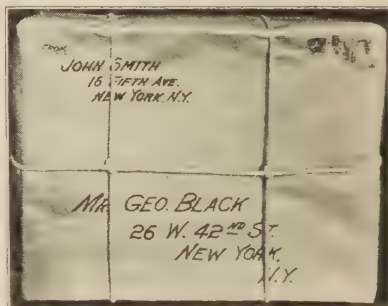
These wonderful improvements have brought great benefits to mankind. News and information may be sent broadcast throughout the land. Newspapers and maga- The postal service and the news zines of national influence are established and their circulation is increased. These make necessary an enlarged postal service which is much more helpful than it used to be, being cheaper and more efficient. The mail can be carried to all parts of the country, and very rapidly through some parts. Letters and magazines can be carried across the continent in less than a week. As late as 1843 it was said in Congress that the United States could never have an interest in a country so remote as Oregon, because it was thought that a representative from that distant region would need six months to go to Washington and six months to return to his home, and he would, therefore, have no time at all during the year for his service in Congress!

So we see how the railway, the telegraph, and the "penny" postage have knit the country together and made it possible for *liberty and union* to be preserved together over so vast an area. Formerly it was thought that only an *imperial* government in control of subject provinces could govern a vast territory. But now the telegraph makes it possible for the Government to communicate instantly with all parts of the country, and the widely separated parts can easily coöperate and act together. In war or in time of need troops and provisions can be moved quickly from one section of the country to another. The railways and rapid transportation across the

continent connect all its parts and make them interested in and dependent upon one another. Cheap postage leads to the spread of knowledge and information and promotes common ideas and purposes. So we see how these influences are *nationalizing*. They *unite* the country into common interests and desires.

In Washington's time there were only about 75 post offices in the whole country. Now there are more than 50,000 and

more than  
 Cheap postage 40,000 rural  
 mail routes. Then the postage on a letter cost as high as 18 to 25 cents. The charge varied with the distance, and the receiver, not the sender, of a letter had to pay the postage. Postage stamps were not introduced until 1847. In 1851 the letter rate was reduced to 3 cents for distances not over 3000 miles and 10 cents for greater distances.



THE PROPER WAY TO ADDRESS A PACKAGE  
 There would be no "dead" Christmas presents if all packages put into the mail were wrapped securely and addressed plainly.

Charges varied according to weight, as now. In 1863 a uniform rate of 3 cents for all distances was provided. In 1883 the 2-cent rate was enacted, which has since remained except for a brief period during the World War, when it was raised for the sake of larger revenues.

The cheaper rates led to an immense increase in correspondence, and as still cheaper rates applied to magazines and newspapers, there was a great increase in the spread of news, literature, and intelligence.

The free  
 delivery system 1863. Before this everyone was expected to go to the post office for his mail. Free delivery was extended very rapidly until now every city of

any considerable size has a system of free delivery of mail. Uncle Sam's postman, or letter-carrier, is the best-known and best-loved government official in all the country. He comes on his route bringing his welcome messages day by day, or two or three times a day, throughout the year. At Christmas time he is the real Santa Claus, who brings the family presents from distant parts of the country.



LOST CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

Thousands of packages pile up in the Dead Letter office because the senders do not wrap them carefully. This causes postal clerks much extra labor, besides causing loss of money and articles of value.

In 1896 rural free delivery was established, which has also grown greatly in extent. Now wherever there are good roads the postal service comes to the country districts. Market reports and weather reports are sent out to the farmers, and financial reports to business men. The daily newspapers gather and distribute these reports, and they also publish for the information of the people the proceedings and speeches in Congress

Rural free  
delivery

and in the state legislatures. The newspapers also seek to keep their readers informed on all matters of importance re-

lating to their national, state, and city govern-  
 Newspapers and public opinion      ments. When the newspapers do their duty  
                                  in these respects public opinion is enlightened  
 and public officials are held to a stricter performance of their  
 duty. If the people can know what is going on, if they  
 can know *the truth* about public affairs, then public opinion



THE RURAL MAIL MAN

People who live miles away from a post office are able to keep in touch with friends by letters and to receive magazines and newspapers regularly. They can order goods from stores in cities far away and receive them quickly by mail. Uncle Sam arranges to reach them by sending a rural mail man.

will soon set wrong matters right. Thomas Jefferson said that he would rather have one good free newspaper in the land than a standing army for the defense of the republic. He thought that a people could not be ignorant and free at the same time and he wanted a newspaper as an organ of public opinion to appeal to the intelligence of the people and to give them the truth which would make them free.

If instead of publishing the truth a newspaper is faithless to its obligations and publishes falsehood and error and seeks to deceive and mislead the people, what can be done to remedy such an evil?

What is meant by an *independent* newspaper? What other kinds of journals or newspapers can you mention?

Why should one know the following things about a newspaper:

- (1) Who owns or controls it?
- (2) To what political party does the owner belong?
- (3) Does this paper publish both sides of a controverted subject?

(4) Do the advertisers control it? How could they do so?

Of what value to the public is a good weekly periodical? Name some of the best-known weekly periodicals in America.



When the towns were small, people went about in them on foot but when the cities grew big some other means of travel within the city became necessary. When a city grows to have a population of a million its street traffic and the transportation of its people become quite a problem. In great cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, and others, thousands of their people live far out in the suburbs, or in suburban towns. They want quick transportation. First there was the old *omnibus*; then there were street cars drawn by horses; then the cable cars, drawn by wire cables running underground; and then finally, nearly forty years ago, came the electric trolley cars which now furnish most of the surface transportation for passengers in our cities. Below the surface are the underground railways with their accommodation trains and their express trains carrying thousands of passengers daily for many miles. Above the surface we have the elevated trains with their regular and rapid passenger schedules. The United States Post Office Department in some of the larger cities uses pneumatic tubes underground through which mail is shot from station to station at lightning speed. A great city with its millions of people is full of difficulties in moving so many persons and things from place to place; but the genius of man seems always to be equal to the need and the emergency.

City transportation



THE GOOD SAMARITAN

The Travelers' Aid Society maintains information desks in many railroad stations for the benefit of travelers, especially strangers, immigrants, and women traveling alone.

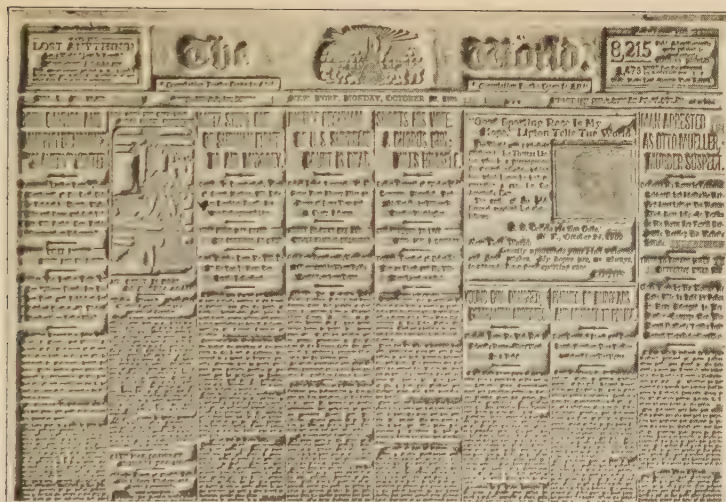
How all these great agencies of transportation and com-



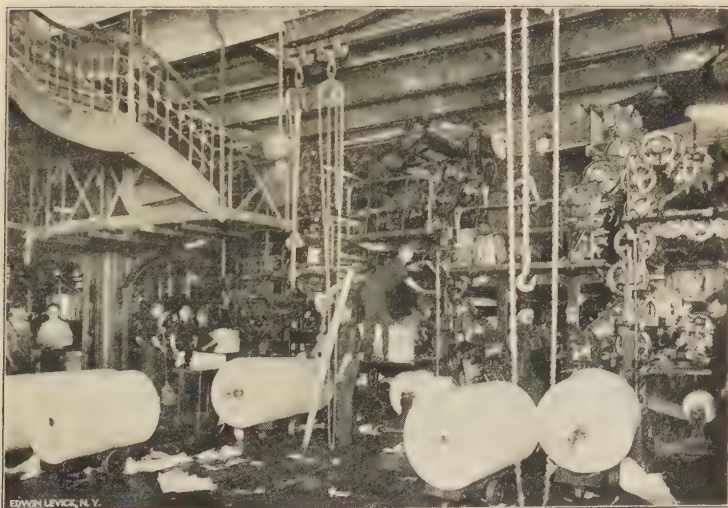
Thousands of people help to make your daily newspaper. In the EDITORIAL ROOM are the reporters of local news, the men at the telegraph, telephone, or cable wires who get the news of the world, and the editors



who direct the work of the paper. The news is written and set in type on a LINOTYPE MACHINE. After the type is arranged, just as it is to appear in the newspaper, an impression is taken on soft, thick paper called the



MATRIX or mold. Then when type metal is poured into it, like cake into a pan, the result is a perfect plate with raised letters on it. The actual printing is done from these metal plates which are curved and fastened to



REVOLVING CYLINDERS. Ink is spread on them as the heavy cylinders roll over the paper. The finished product is a folded newspaper ready for delivery.



munication are to be controlled is one of the great problems of the time. We can only suggest this problem here without proposing a solution. These great systems of Control of trans- transportation and communication are necessary to our community life. The people live and do business by means of the telegraph, the telephone, the railway, the trolley line, the street car. In their use we are all concerned. Their management and their successful operation are public matters, not merely private matters. The nation has an interest in the telegraph and the railways and should have some control over them. The cities have an interest in their street car lines and should have some control over them.

These are not ordinary private property; they are *public utilities* in whose management the public has a very great interest. Private property is invested in them, but it is clear that the business of sending messages and transporting people and goods is not the same as the dry goods business or the grocery business. If prices are too high at a business man's store or if his goods are shoddy or the service bad, the customer may go to another store to buy what he wants. Competition serves to keep down prices and to keep up the quality of the goods and the service. But with the telephone company or the telegraph company, what can a patron do if the charges are high and the service is poor? It is not possible nor desirable to start other telegraph and telephone companies.

A city with only one telephone company is better off than if it had two telephone companies. People do not wish to have two telephone systems in their homes. One company with a *monopoly* is better. But if this monopoly is not owned by the public (as in the case of the water works or lighting systems) it must be regulated by the public. Therefore *franchises* are granted to corporations authorizing them to conduct these public utilities under certain terms and restrictions. They are allowed the use of the streets and alleys, for a limited period of time, say twenty or thirty years, on condition that

the company shall furnish good service at a reasonable rate, — whether it be to furnish gas, water, electricity, transportation, or communication.

The companies that furnish these benefits to the public are called *public service corporations*. They are private companies engaged in rendering some public service. They sell shares of stock in the company in order to get money to build their plant, that is, to erect their poles, stretch their wires, or lay their rails. Sometimes these companies issue a great deal more of stock than the money actually invested in the plant. This stock over and above the actual cost is called *water*. For instance, a street railway company may have actually invested in its system only \$8,000,000 and then issue stock to the amount of \$20,000,000. The company may claim that its plant is worth 20 millions while it actually cost only 8 millions, and then the management will seek to fix wages, rates, and fares in such a way as to enable the company to earn a "reasonable income" of five or six per cent on the 20 millions. Does this seem fair to the public? May it not lead to higher rates and lower wages than are necessary to bring to the owners a fair return on the capital actually invested?

Therefore *public service commissions* are created by the State to investigate and oversee and control these corporations, in order to prevent such abuses.

These commissions seek to determine how much money is actually invested in the plants, what would be fair wages for the men employed and fair profits for the capital invested, and they also strive to see that good service is rendered to the public.

Such abuses have led many persons to advocate public ownership and operation of these *monopolies*. They claim that at the same time rates to the shippers might be lower, wages to the laboring men might be higher, and the services to the public might be better. Those who oppose government ownership claim that it would



bring about waste and political corruption, and that it has not succeeded very well where it has been tried. They want the government to *regulate* but not to own and *operate*. In America, the systems for furnishing water and light are largely owned by the public; but those furnishing transportation and communication, such as the telegraph, the telephone, railways, country trolleys and city street car lines, are generally owned by private capital under public regulation.

During the World War the railroads were for a time under the direct control of the National Government, but since the war they have been returned to private ownership and control. For more than thirty years, since 1887, the *Interstate Commerce Commission* has had some oversight and regulation of these roads. From time to time its powers have been increased. Its duty is to learn how commerce between different states is affected by railroads, canals, steamship lines, express companies, and telephone and telegraph companies. It may determine how high the rates of these public carriers may go.

All changes of rates, bond issues, and financial operations of these companies that do an interstate business must have the approval of this Commission. It seeks to look out for the interest of the general public, the shippers, and the bondholders and to see that the managers do not loot the company's property or waste its resources. If the managers of a road are accused of violating the law the Commission investigates the charges and it may, if it sees fit, bring the guilty managers before the courts. This Commission now consists of nine members, each receiving a salary of \$10,000 a year.

After the railroads were returned to their owners following the war (in 1920) Congress passed the Esch-Cummins Act.

This authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix such rates as would bring the roads a profit of at least  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  on the value of the road. What the actual value is of all the roads in the United States is a matter of dispute. Some place the

The present  
railroad situation

value as low as 12 billion dollars, some as high as 20 billions. This difference is so great that it is important to know what the value really is in order to ascertain how much in earnings the roads shall be guaranteed,  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the 12 billions or  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  of 20 billions. All profits of any road over 6% are to be divided between the road and the Government, the Government's share to be applied to the weaker roads whose earning capacity is not up to par ( $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ ).

The Transportation Act of 1920 (the Esch-Cummins Act) created the *Railway Labor Board*, whose business it is to deal with questions that may arise concerning labor. This Board consists of nine members, The railway labor board three representing the railway laborers, three the railway owners and managers, and three the public. The latter three are chosen directly by the President. All nine appointments are to be confirmed by the Senate.

All decisions of the Board concerning wages and conditions of work must be agreed to by at least five members, one of whom must be of the public group. The Board is to be "just and reasonable," taking into consideration the cost of living, the skill, responsibility, and hardship of the job. It may summon witnesses and make investigations, but it has no authority to enforce its decisions. It depends upon its own fairness and on public opinion to do that. At times the railroads have refused to carry out the Board's decisions, and recently, after the Board decided on a reduction of wages for the men, certain organized railway workers refused to submit to the ruling of the Board and went on strike.

It is impossible for the public to permit the transportation of the country to be tied up by a general strike, and it would seem, therefore, that the Government must assert its authority in some way to keep the roads going, if the quarrels and differences between the roads and their men cannot be settled among themselves.

The railway employees, engineers, firemen, shopmen, and others are generally in favor of a return to government owner-

ship under some plan that will give the employees a greater power in the management of the roads and also a greater share in their earnings.

In recent years the farmers in the West have complained of high railroad rates. They cannot get enough for their crops to pay for the raising. One Dakota farmer shipped a carload of potatoes to Minneapolis which sold for \$336. The railroad took \$180 for freight charges. The Potato Exchange (a commission firm) took \$42 more. After other charges were taken out the farmer had \$1.30 for his share. This was his reward for his land and seed potatoes and for all his labor of plowing, planting, cultivating, digging, sorting, bagging, and hauling. Such a case shows that something is seriously wrong. Getting farm products to market at the lowest rate and getting a fair price for them, while keeping the railroads up and paying a fair return on the money invested in them, -- this is a part of our problem of production, transportation, and distribution. The farmer, the railroad owner, the laborer in the cities, the merchant, and the "ultimate consumer" are all interested in its fair solution.



## TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Explain why good roads are a test of civilization.
2. Describe some of the early modes of transportation.
3. Show the importance of the wheel and the steam locomotive in land transportation.
4. Write a brief paper on the great changes in travel and transportation since 1787.
5. Describe a journey from New York City to Indianapolis in 1820.
6. Why is road-building a community enterprise? Why is local road-making not so good as State or National road-making?
7. Describe some modern methods of rapid communication.
8. Explain the benefits of cheap postal service. Of the free delivery system.
9. Why is it necessary or desirable to have public control of transportation and communication?
10. What is a public utility? A natural monopoly? A public service commission? Watered stock?

11. Discussion, — Should the interstate railroads be owned and controlled by the national government?

12. Imagine the coal mines, the railroads, and the telegraph and telephone lines all shut down. What would be the effect?

13. Have you ever made a collection of postage stamps? Do all countries have them? How long have they been in use? What was done instead before stamps were used?

14. Name some of the benefits of newspapers. Some of the evils.

15. Have you good roads in your county? How may they be improved? Do you live near a State or National highway? Is it a good road? Is it kept in good repair? Do you know anything about the "Lincoln Highway"? the "Dixie Highway"? the "Cannon Ball Trail"? "Yellowstone Trail"? What influence has the automobile had on the making of good roads?

16. Show how the factory system, the making of goods in factories on a large scale, depends upon cheap transportation. Could so many things be sold if they could not be carried long distances?

17. Show how the opening up of American grain fields in the Northwest was due to railroads. Why were the early settlers in the Middle West so anxious to have the National Government promote internal improvements?

18. How deep does the ground freeze in winter in your neighborhood? Is there any relation between this and road-building?

19. What are the advantages of good roads in war time? Rome was a military nation. She also built good roads. Can you show that there was a connection between this and her ability to "rule the world"?

20. Name the Transcontinental Railroads in North America at the present time.

## REFERENCES

Carver, T. N., *Elementary Economics*, Chapter XIX, on "Transportation."

*Lessons in Community and National Life*, see "Good Roads," by Clifford A. Moore, and "Early Transportation in the Far West," and the "First Railway Across the Continent," by Howard C. Hill. (Leaflets of United States Bureau of Education).

Beard, C. A., *American City Government*.

Munro, W. B., *Government of American Cities*.

Howe, F. C., *The Modern City and its Problems*.

For Magazine reading see, "Better Roads Make Better Neighbors," by David F. Houston, in *Independent*, Nov. 20, 1913; "American Highways," *Independent*, May 2, 1912; "The Government and Good Roads," by

D. F. Houston, *American Review of Reviews*, Sept., 1916; "The Best Roads at Least Cost," by J. E. Pennybacker, in *World's Work*, for Oct., 1912; "The Profit of Good Roads," by Logan W. Page, in *World's Work*, Oct., 1912; "How a Town Converted By-paths into Good Roads," by H. C. Beard, in *American Magazine* for March, 1914; "How One County Built a Good Road," by J. M. Miller, in *The Scientific American*, Oct. 12, 1912. These are cited in "Lessons in Community and National Life."

### PRONOUNCING LIST

myriads

mĩr'ĩ äds

suburb

sũb'ũrb

unify

ũ'nĩ fi

monopoly

mõ nõp'õ lĩ

amplifier

ãm'plĩ fi ěr



## PART III

### THE GOVERNMENT OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

#### CHAPTER XV

##### THE STATE COMMUNITY AND ITS GOVERNMENT

We have seen how the colonial settlements in America grew into a larger colonial community, with a colonial government exercising authority over all its settlements (see pp. 58, 59). After declaring their inde- The origin of the States pendence the colonies became States. Into these States we now find combined all their local communities, — counties, townships, cities, villages. Within the State and under its authority are the churches, the schools, the corporations, partnerships, business firms, and all voluntary associations.

In the beginning there were only thirteen States; now there are forty-eight. Thirty-five new States have been formed either from territory which the United The Territories and how they became States States originally owned or from territory since acquired, such as the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Florida in 1819, Texas annexed in 1845, the Mexican Cession in 1848, and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. Alaska (1867) and the Island Possessions (1898) have not been admitted as States.

When a new territory began to be settled up, the United States Congress provided a government for it. It defined the boundary of the Territory, provided for a Governor to be appointed by the President, The organizing act for a Territory for a Territorial Legislature to be elected by the people in the Territory, and for courts and judges to be

appointed by the President. This is called *organizing* the Territory. All the Territories before they became States had *organizing acts* of Congress providing for their government except Texas and California (see p. 54). Why did Congress not pass organizing acts for Texas and California?

When a Territory comes to have a population about equal



UTAH STATE CAPITOL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

All the States have majestic buildings where the important work of government is carried on. Here the State legislature meets and here are all the main offices of the State departments.

to the number entitled to elect a member of Congress that body may pass an *enabling act*, authorizing the people of the Territory to elect members to a constitutional convention. This convention then draws up a constitution for the prospective State which, according to the usual custom, is submitted to the people of the State for acceptance or rejection. If the people accept the constitution by their vote, that document is then submitted to Congress and if Congress approves it, the Ter-

The enabling act  
for an incoming  
State

ritory (now called a State) is admitted to the Union. When this is done the new State stands on an equality with all the rest. Its people hold an election for Governor, State officers, a legislature, local officers, and the life of the new State begins. At times this State election has been held before Congress has finally accepted the new State.

This has been the territorial policy of the United States from the beginning, ever since 1780 when the Congress of the old Confederation was trying to induce the States that claimed western lands to yield their claims to the United States. Congress then promised in a famous resolution of 1780 that it would not hold these territories and their inhabitants in subjection as provinces under an imperial power, but that it would "erect them into equal republican States" to be admitted into the Union with the same rights and privileges enjoyed by the other States.

Should this promise of 1780 be applied to Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Porto Rico? Do "circumstances alter cases"? What circumstances would justify or require the admission of these possessions? How long were New Mexico and Arizona kept out of the Union after they were acquired? Why was this?

Some of the States are small, like Rhode Island; some are large, like Texas. Two hundred and ten States of the size of Rhode Island could be made out of Texas, or nine States of the size of Indiana. California is 780 miles long. Delaware, with its three counties, is about 70 miles long. About seventy Delawares could be put into California. These little States were original colonies; generally the States formed west of the Alleghanies are large. But whether large or small, all the States have essentially the same kind of government. Each has a constitution drawn up in State convention and ratified (in later years) by a vote of the people. This constitution provides for:

(1) A representative government in three departments, Legislative, Executive, Judicial.

The territorial  
policy of the  
United States

Differences in the  
States

(2) A *Bill of Rights*, guaranteeing civil liberty to its people, —free speech, free press, free assembly, fair trial by jury, protection to life and property, freedom from arbitrary arrest and from cruel punishments (see *Bill of Rights*, pp. 276, 292, 372).

(3) A legislature of two houses.

(4) All the constitutions provide modes of amendment. Change and growth are provided for.

The constitution is known as the *organic* law, or the "fundamental law" of the State. It defines the form and nature



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE IN SESSION

of the government, lays down certain principles for its guidance, tells what laws may or may not be passed, provides for officers, and describes their powers, duties, terms of service, etc. The laws passed by the State legislature and the conduct of its officers must be in harmony with the State constitution and this constitution must not conflict with the United States Constitution. All officers of the State take an oath to observe the constitution both of the State and of the United States.

Was your State once a Territory? If so, when did it become a State? What was the process of its coming into statehood?

On what principle, or promise, did the United States hold and govern Territories? Has the United States ever departed from this principle?

What are the essential features of every State Government?

What is the nature of a State constitution? How is it made?

Let us now notice what work these States do, how they do it, and how they are governed.

In the ordinary walks of life the State is more important to the citizen than is the Nation. National affairs may attract his attention more, but the State governs him more. The State laws touch him on all sides, while the national laws may touch him only at a few points. An American is reminded of the Federal Government when he votes at a presidential or a congressional election, or when he uses the post office, or pays a tariff tax or a national income tax, or buys tobacco bearing a government stamp, or "opens his trunk for a custom house officer on a pier in New York when he returns from a tour in Europe."

Most Americans seldom, or never, do all of these things. But the ordinary citizen pays his direct taxes "to officials acting under State laws. The State, or some local authority acting under the authority of the State, registers his birth, appoints his guardian, pays for his schooling, gives him a share in the estate of his father deceased, licenses him when he enters a trade (if it be one needing a license), marries him, divorces him, entertains civil actions against him, declares him a bankrupt, hangs him for murder; the police that guard his house, the local boards which look after the poor, control highways, impose water rates, manage schools, — all these derive their legal power from the State alone."<sup>1</sup>

Thus it will be seen that offenses against the national laws may be very few, against the State laws very many. If a

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, I, 425, 426.



man becomes a traitor, or a pirate, or a counterfeiter, or a bootlegger, or robs a post office, or interferes with interstate

Crimes against  
the Nation and  
against the State

commerce or commits assault or murder on an American vessel at sea, he may be arrested and tried by Federal authority. But the State

law deals with the ordinary or more common violations of law, — murder, robbery, theft, burglary, bribery, bigamy,

offenses against the ballot, nuisances, malfeasance in office, violation of contract, or any wrong or injury to person or property. Almost the whole civil life of the citizen is regulated by the State, or by local governments controlled by the State.



We Cannot Have PRIVILEGES  
Without RESPONSIBILITIES

*The State Gives Us*

Protection	Opportunity
Education	Recreation

*We Give the State*

Obedience	Service
Loyalty	

If some disorderly boys disturb a religious meeting in the country; or if a mob hangs a negro; or if a man steals an automobile in Chicago; or passes counterfeit bills; or if one man assaults another in the street; or if a man is running a "blind tiger," or a disorderly dance hall, — would the United States Government take any notice of these

offenses? If not, why not? If so, why? How do you distinguish between offenses against State law and offenses against national law? The lower house of Congress has recently passed an anti-mob law to prevent lynching. Does this come within the scope of national powers? Or is it the business of the State to preserve order and protect human life? See if you can find any discussion of this in the newspapers.

At Herrin, Illinois, in June, 1922, two Mexicans, together with a number of other strike breakers, were killed by a mob of miners or by their sympathizers. President Harding proposed that

Congress should pass an act providing that when aliens are killed in such circumstances the United States Government should be empowered to investigate the affair and proceed to punish those guilty of the lawless acts. Would this give more protection to aliens than American citizens can claim under our laws? Whose place is it to punish such crimes as were committed at Herrin? If American citizens are killed in Mexico what do we expect the Mexican government to do about it? Can you learn what was done during the younger Harrison's administration when some Italian citizens were murdered by a mob in New Orleans? Do you think it would be better to transfer the protection of our lives, liberty, and property from the State to the National Government?

In every State the legislature is made up of two houses. In early times, for a short time, Vermont, Georgia, and Pennsylvania had a one-house system, but now all have two houses, a Senate and a House of Rep-  
The State legislature  
 resentatives. Any voter may be elected to the House, but the age requirement for the Senate is in some States higher than for the House. The pay, or salary, of the Senators and Representatives is the same. The Senate is the smaller of the two bodies, in some States half the size of the House, in other States still smaller. The Senators are elected by popular vote from senatorial districts, the House members in the same way, either from the county as a unit, or from districts made up by a combination of counties.

The legislative term is usually two years; in some States it is one year; in a few, four. In some States  
Term of office  
 the Senators "hold over" for four years, serving through two legislative terms, half of them being elected every two years.

The legislative session varies in different States, in some States it is fifty or sixty days, in others it is not limited. Where the session is limited the members are paid a *per diem*, that is, so much per day. If the session is not limited they may be paid a salary, so much a year. The members may stay as long, or get through with the business as quickly, as they please or can.

If a legislature adjourns leaving some important work undone, the Governor may call it into extra session and urge the passage of certain measures. Before he calls the extra session the Governor may obtain the promise of a majority of the members that the session shall not be prolonged, or that only certain measures shall be attended to.

How many members are in your State legislature? What is the length of the legislative term? How many days does your legislature remain in session? What determines this? Has your State "hold-over" Senators? Explain this term. Is the age requirement for your State Senator greater than for a member of the House of Representatives? What pay is given to the members of your legislature? Is it better to require the members of a legislature to get through with their legislation within a limited time, working on a *per diem*, or to pay them a yearly salary and let them take all the time they wish? Read from your State Constitution on these points.

A legislature is made up of men (now sometimes of women) of many occupations. There may be merchants, lawyers, teachers, physicians, farmers, real estate and insurance agents, manufacturers, and others. There are usually more lawyers than men of any other occupation.

It may be that some of these lawyers are clever enough in the use of legal terms to draw up bills of their own which they may wish to introduce and have passed. But most of the members, and lawyer members among them, are not able to do this. Many of the States have now established Legislative Reference Bureaus, with Secretaries whose business it is to furnish information to members and who, if desired, will act as experts in drafting bills.

Sometimes an able lawyer entirely outside the legislature is induced to draft a bill which a member wishes to introduce. Or, it may be, some corporation, or organization, or some group of citizens who wish to secure certain legislation, employ

a lawyer to draw up a bill, and they have it all ready by the time the legislature convenes. Then they induce some member of the legislature to introduce it and as many members as possible to favor it.

Men, or women, who come to the State House or to the State capital, while the legislature is in session and try to induce members to vote for the passage of certain bills or against certain measures make up

**The lobby**

what is known as the *lobby*, sometimes called the *Third House*.

Lobbyists may be good or bad. It depends upon the kind of legislation they are trying to push through, whether it is for the public interest or for purely private interest; and also on the method employed,

**Lobby methods  
in legislatures**

whether it is corrupt and selfish, or straightforward and for the public interest, or whether it is by secret conclave or open and aboveboard. Lobbyists have at times been so numerous, bold, and offensive that they have been excluded from the floor of the legislature, and some States have required them to be registered and to make known the legislation they are trying to promote, or prevent. As often as not a bad lobby uses its influence to prevent legislation calculated to remove abuses and serve the public.

Can the passage of a good measure be obtained without a lobby?

Most of the people during a session of the legislature have to stay home and at work. They cannot go to the State capital and spend their time and money lobbying. Whose business is it to look out for their interests and to see that good measures are passed and bad ones defeated?

Is it right for a lawyer member of the legislature to be also the employed attorney of a corporation which is seeking to obtain legislation in its interest? Which would he serve better, the people of the State or the corporation? Would that depend upon the pay he gets from the corporation? "No man can serve two masters." Why not?

Both houses of the legislature are divided into committees. There is a committee on Ways and Means, one on Education, on Roads and Highways, the Judiciary Committee (on courts

and legal aspects of legislation), on Cities and Towns, on Elections, and many others. When a bill is introduced it is read by the Clerk, is given a number, and it is then referred to its proper committee. It is required usually that a bill be given *three readings* before the house on three different days, unless the rules are suspended by a two-thirds vote or by some larger majority. This is to prevent hasty legislation, or to prevent legislation without due public notice.

Committees and legislation  
 Legislation depends very largely on the committees. A committee may "smother" a bill, or "put it to sleep," or "lay it on the shelf." That is, they may kill it by not reporting it back to the house at all. As a matter of fact a great majority of the bills introduced and referred to the committees are treated in this way. Or the committee may report that it has fully considered the bill and on behalf of the committee its chairman moves that the bill be "indefinitely postponed." If that motion is carried the bill is killed. The committees do some of their best service by killing bills and preventing freak legislation or bad and useless laws.

If the committee favors a bill, it will report it back favorably and move that the bill pass. The members of the house are generally ready to vote for or against a measure as the committee recommends. They think the members of the committee are better informed on the subject than themselves.

A bill may be passed by a majority of a *quorum*, which is the number of votes required by the Constitution for the transaction of business. In some States a majority of the whole elected membership is required for the passage of a bill.

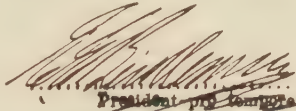
After a bill has passed one house it is sent to the other, where it goes through the same process. If the bill is amended there it goes back with the amendments to the house in which it originated, to see if that house will agree to the changes. If it does agree and passes the amended measure, the bill goes to the Governor for his approval.



# AN ACT

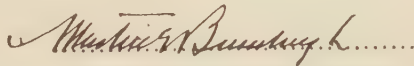
Authorizing cities of the third class to appropriate money  
annually for music in public parks and in other  
public places

1 Section 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Repre-*  
2 *sentatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly*  
3 *met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same That*  
4 *from and after the passage of this act it shall be law-*  
5 *ful for any city of the third class to appropriate public*  
6 *moneys for the purpose of having music in any public*  
7 *park or place At the time of making of the annual*  
8 *appropriation ordinance any city council in a city of*  
9 *the third class may appropriate such sum of money as*  
10 *in their judgment shall be necessary for the purpose of*  
11 *supplying music in any public park or place*

  
.....  
President pro tempore of the Senate.

  
.....  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved—The *fifth* ..... day of *April* ..... A. D. 1917.

  
.....

## FACSIMILE OF A STATE LAW

Third class cities in Pennsylvania have a population of 10,000 to 125,000.  
Note that this law was signed first by the President of the Senate, then by  
the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and finally at the bottom by  
the Governor.

If it does not agree to the amendments, a conference committee is appointed, perhaps three members from each house, to see if they can "thresh out" their differences and come to some agreement. If they cannot, the bill will fail to pass, unless one of the houses is willing to give way. Usually the conference committee patches up some compromise arrangement, the committee of each house giving up a part and receiving a part of its contention. Then the bill as agreed to is reported back to each house by their respective committees and is then passed. Sometimes the conference committee members for one of the houses stubbornly refuse to give way on any point and the bill "dies in conference."

The conference committee

When the bill comes to the Governor, if he signs it, it becomes a law within a certain time, perhaps 60 or 90 days after the adjournment of the legislature. This will give time to enable the people to learn what the new laws are. If the bill *declares an emergency* it becomes a law immediately after the Governor has signed it.

When laws go into effect; an emergency clause

If the Governor vetoes the bill, as a number of State constitutions empower him to do, that is, if he refuses to approve it, then it goes back for reconsideration to the house in which it originated. Under the constitutions of a number of the States a bare majority of both houses may pass the bill over the Governor's veto, in other States a two-thirds majority is required. Even if the veto may be overcome by a bare majority of the two houses, the Governor's veto message may present such arguments against the measure or may so arouse public opposition to it that enough members may change their votes to defeat the measure when it comes up for reconsideration.

The Governor's veto

Do you think the Governor should have the veto power? Why? How are the committees appointed in your legislature? Indicate their importance in law-making.

The Governor is the Chief Executive of the State. Every State has a Governor. He is nominated by a party convention or *primary*, and is elected by the voters of the State, for a term of four years, or it may be for two. It is his duty to see that the laws of the State are enforced. To enable him to do this he is given the control of the State police or constabulary and is also

The executive  
department of  
the State



STATE POLICE OF PENNSYLVANIA

A sheriff cannot go outside his own county to search for a criminal; the power of city police is limited to their own city, but the State police can make arrests anywhere in the State. They are designed especially for protection in village and rural communities. All States do not have State police.

made the commander-in-chief of the State militia. He may use this police power, or military power, to suppress riots and maintain order.

The Governor is also given certain legislative powers. It is his duty to give information to the legislature from time to time as to the needs of the State. He may call the legislature into special session when any emergency arises; and he has the negative power of vetoing bills that are submitted to him and he may

The Governor's  
legislative powers

thus very effectively prevent legislation. If the Governor is an able man and a real leader he may have great influence over the legislature in other ways and he may induce that body to enact into law the measures which he proposes. The Governor and the legislature ought to be able to work together in promoting legislation.

The Governor is the party leader in the State and he will try to work with the party committees and managers, and in conjunction with these managers he will try to induce the legislature to carry out the policy of the administration. A strong Governor will have a public policy and he ought to be the real leader of the legislature. He will gather about him in consultation his party leaders in both houses and together they will seek to work out what may seem to them the best policies for the State.

The Governor also has judicial power. He may commute the sentence of a convicted man from death to life imprisonment, or he may pardon him outright. He uses the pardoning power usually on the advice of a Board of Pardons which examines applications for pardon and makes recommendations.

The other administrative officers of the State, besides the Governor, are the Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer of State, Auditor of State, Attorney General, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Lieutenant Governor usually presides over the Senate. If the Governor should die or resign the Lieutenant Governor would succeed to that office.

The *Secretary of State* has charge of the papers, records, and archives of the State; he publishes the laws, and certifies to certain official acts.

The *Treasurer* is responsible for the moneys of the State; he receives the taxes paid in by the counties and gives his checks or warrants in the payment of bills against the State.

The *Auditor* checks up the accounts and sees to it that no money is paid out that has not been authorized by law.

The *Attorney General* is the legal adviser of the State officers and he represents the State in lawsuits in which the State may be interested.

The *Superintendent of Public Instruction* oversees the school system, and makes reports on educational matters.

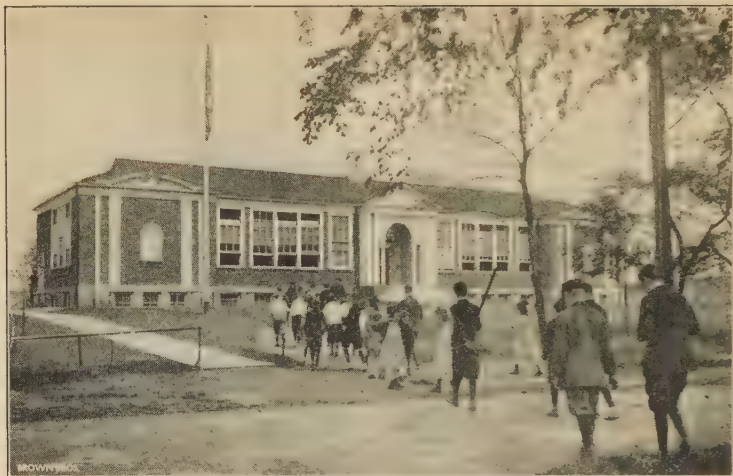
These State officers are not related to the Governor as a Cabinet to the President. They are independent of the Governor. He does not appoint them nor can he remove them. They are elected in most of the States in the same way the Governor is. They are not official advisers to the Governor but they merely carry out the duties defined for them by law.

In addition to these administrative officers, many of the States have a number of Boards and Commissions which are charged with attending to certain interests of the State, — a Tax Board, Finance Board, a Board of Agriculture, a Board of Public Health, and it may be Boards dealing with mines, labor, and public works.

There is, also, in most States a Board of Education at the head of which is the State Superintendent of Public Instruction or the Commissioner of Education. This Board makes rules governing the course of study, for inspecting schools, for licensing teachers, and for commissioning high schools to prepare students for college. In New York State the Board of Regents adopts courses of study for the schools all over the State and sets the "Regents' Examination" to be taken by all the pupils of the State. In some States, as in Indiana, the State Board selects textbooks to be used in all the public schools.

There is a Public Utilities Commission, which regulates the rates and duties of the public utilities of the State; an Historical Commission, which seeks to preserve and publish historical documents and materials; a Highway Commission,





One of the most important works of the State is to send children to SCHOOL.

Many States have a Department of Public Instruction or a State Board of Education whose duty it is to plan the course of study for all the schools of the State, to issue licenses to elementary and high school teachers, to provide for the regular inspection of school property and classes in session, and to oversee general educational matters. We have no national Board of Education, but every State spends thousands of dollars every year on its



public schools and State colleges. Another function of the State is to BUILD GOOD ROADS and to keep them in repair. This work is super-



vised by the State Highway Commission. Here you see a picture of the laboratory of a STATE BOARD OF HEALTH where tests of water supplies throughout the State are being made. This board endeavors further to prevent disease by making and enforcing laws for sanitation in factories, public buildings, and stores, and in other ways safeguarding health and prolonging



life. There are also STATE INSTITUTIONS for dependents such as the blind and insane, and reformatories and prisons for those who break the law.

charged with building and maintaining roads; and there are also Boards of Control (Trustees) of the various State educational and benevolent institutions. All these boards and commissions indicate the wide scope of the State's business and how expensive a thing government has become. There are so many things to do that various phases of the State's business have to be attended to by these boards appointed for special purposes.

Can you name several Boards and Commissions in your State? What are the duties of each? What special service is rendered by the Public Utilities Commission?

Who is the Governor of your State? For what length of term does he serve? What is his salary? What do you consider the most important duty of the Governor?

Can you name other duties of your State officers than those mentioned in the text?

Do you think it would be better if the subordinate officers should be made into a cabinet to the Governor appointed and removable by him? If the State legislature refuses to enact the laws the Governor desires or refuses to carry out his policy, would it be better if the Governor could dissolve the legislature and let the people elect a new one? If the people should then elect a legislature that was still hostile to the Governor should the Governor resign and let the legislature or the people elect a new Governor? Would such practice be like the English "ministerial system"? Explain. Why is the English ministerial system called "responsible government"? Would it be well to have such responsible government in our States?

In what way and to what extent is the pardoning power used in your State? It was once said that a Governor of one of the States "opened the prison doors and let all the convicts out" by the use of his pardoning power. What danger do you see in such a free use of the power to pardon? Are not some men in prison of better character than many who are out? If so, what can the Governor do about it?

Has your State a seal? Where is it kept? What is it like? What does it signify?

Has your State a motto? If so, repeat it. Has it a song? If so, can you sing it or recite its lines? Has it a flag? If so, describe it. Or, can the class make one and bring it in to the school room?

Every State has its system of courts, — a Supreme Court, Circuit and County Courts, Appellate Courts, Probate Courts,

City Police Courts, and Justices of the Peace in the townships. The courts must determine what the laws mean and apply them to cases when they come up. That is, they interpret the constitution and the laws, and if they find an act passed by the legislature to be in conflict with the constitution they must set the act aside as no law at all. They declare it "null and void." They do this also if the act is contrary to the Constitution of

The State  
judiciary



A TRIAL

The prisoner is seated in the chair near the judge's desk. He is being questioned or cross-examined by a lawyer. You see the jury listening at the far left. Spectators are allowed to listen to the trial.

the United States since the State courts are sworn to support both the constitution of the State and that of the United States. A decision, or interpretation of a lower court may be overruled by a higher court. The Supreme Court of the United States has the last word on cases in which the national Constitution is involved.

In trying cases at law the courts must go by regular and orderly procedure. A man accused of a crime has a right to



a fair trial. The judge must see that the charge against him is clear and legal, that the jury is fairly chosen (if it is a jury case), that the witnesses desired by the accused shall be on hand, and that he have the benefit of a lawyer to see that he be given his legal rights and that his side of the case shall be fairly presented.

One who breaks the law or is accused of breaking it may be arrested on a warrant issued by the proper officer, or if caught in the act he may be arrested by a law officer without a warrant. He is brought before a court for a preliminary examination. If there is not sufficient evidence against him he will be set at liberty. If, however, his guilt seems probable, the court will *remand him for trial*; that is, the accused will be retained in jail or be *let out on bail*. Admitting a man to *bail* means that if somebody will go security to the court for a certain amount of money (which the judge names), assuring the prisoner's appearance for trial on the day set, then the prisoner may be released from custody until the day of his trial.

The usual way of bringing an accusation against a person for law violation is by action of the Grand Jury. This is an investigating body, of varying numbers, appointed by the court, charged with the duty of inquiring into violations of law. The grand jury meets in secret under the direction of the prosecuting attorney. It summons and examines witnesses, to find out if anyone should be indicted, arrested, and brought to trial. If sufficient evidence is found against a law violator, the prosecutor draws up the formal charge, or "true bill."

When the trial comes on, the accused person is brought into open court and is asked to say whether he is guilty or not guilty *as charged in the indictment*. The indictment is the accusation. This is drawn up by the State's attorney, or prosecuting attorney, who seeks to bring forward the evidence against the accused to show

Court proceedings: how law is enforced: how a trial is conducted

The grand jury

The trial



that he ought to be convicted or found guilty. The accused is the *defendant* and his attorney looks out for his interest. If the defendant *pleads guilty* (admits his guilt), the judge decides upon the penalty. If he pleads *not guilty*, the trial proceeds. Witnesses are brought in and questioned and *cross-examined*.

The trial jury (called the *petit jury*) consists of twelve men who are chosen to hear the evidence and decide the case. The jury is chosen by drawing from a list of names placed in a box by the *Jury Commis-* The jury  
*sioners*. After twelve names are drawn, each side (the pros-



CHOOSING A JURY

The names of those eligible for jury service are usually put into a cylinder, and turned over several times to shake them up. One at a time, until the jury is filled, they are drawn out and read by a committee. It is a survival of very ancient times to have the jury chosen by lot.

ecution and the defense) may object to certain persons serving on the jury. Other names are then drawn until a jury satisfactory to both sides is obtained, or until each side has exhausted its right to object.

After the evidence is all in, the lawyers *plead the case*; that is, they sum up the evidence and make their arguments

before the jury. The judge then *charges the jury*; that is, he explains the law and instructs the jury how the law applies to the case. The jury decides as to the facts in the case and they are sworn to bring in a verdict "according to the law and the evidence."

The lawyers' arguments and the judge's charge

They go to the jury room to deliberate and sometimes they deliberate all night and, maybe, all the next day because of being unable to agree. They are in charge of the bailiff, or sheriff, who accompanies them to their meals, provides sleeping quarters and sees that no one is allowed to communicate with them. In criminal cases the verdict of the jury must be unanimous and if the jury cannot agree, there is no verdict, and a new trial is necessary, with more delay and more expense. If the jury's verdict is one of acquittal, the accused is discharged; if the verdict is "guilty," the judge pronounces sentence, imposing the penalty which the law prescribes or which the jury names; or it may be the jury leaves the penalty to the discretion of the court.

The verdict

A person accused of crime and put on trial has certain constitutional rights:

The rights of the citizen in a court trial

(1) He is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty.

(2) If he has been once acquitted he cannot be put on trial again (in jeopardy) for the same offense.

(3) He has a right to know in writing of what he is accused.

(4) He has a right to have a lawyer for his defense. If he is too poor to pay for one, the court will appoint one and the State will pay him.

(5) He has a right to be confronted by the witnesses against him.

(6) Witnesses in his favor may be compelled to attend and give their evidence.

(7) He has the right to a speedy and impartial trial.

~~X~~

By The justices of the peace hear small local cases in the townships. The police judges hear cases, mostly criminal cases and misdemeanors, arising in the cities. Justices of the peace

The next higher courts are the circuit or district courts, which may be made up of several counties, and the judges sit to hear cases in the different county seats. The higher courts  
In some States the Appellate Court is the Supreme Court of the State, in others it is an intermediate court between the circuit and county courts, which may hear and finally decide cases of a certain degree of importance. It hears only such cases as are *appealed* to it from the lower courts. The more important cases, in which more money is involved, may be carried to the Supreme Court of the State.

A *probate court* considers evidence and makes decisions relating to deeds, wills, and inheritances. In some States there are special courts for this purpose, in others the circuit courts that hear criminal and civil cases also consider the probate business. The probate court

In the majority of the States the judges are now elected by the people and their terms are shorter than formerly. The terms vary in different States, from two years in Vermont to 21 years in Pennsylvania. The judges  
In our early history the judges of the States were either appointed by the Governor or elected by the legislature and their terms were for life or good behavior. They were removable only by impeachment, or by a two-thirds vote of each house of the legislature.

Do you think popular election of judges is a good thing? Should not the judge's office be entirely separated from politics?

Are not short terms and low salaries likely to result in poor judges? Do the best lawyers care to be elected to the judge's office?

Should judges be allowed to declare legislative acts unconstitutional? Why? Have the judges this power in other countries?

Study the administration of justice and how the law is enforced in your local community. Why is a "warrant" usually necessary for a man's arrest? When is it not necessary?

To what officers does the term magistrate apply? What is a grand jury? A petit jury? A trial jury? What are the constitutional rights of a man accused of crime and placed on trial? What is a verdict? Why do *all* of the jury have to agree before a verdict is reached?

Tell the difference between criminal cases and civil cases. In some States two thirds or three fourths of the jury are allowed to make a verdict. Is not this a good provision?

Things are never so good but that they may be made better. Experience has shown some defects in State government. The Governor and the legislature ought to work together under a common leadership. Now there is too much division of

**Improvements and reforms in State government** responsibility and power. Team work is very necessary. The Governor has no control over the subordinate executive officers, — the secretary of State, auditor, treasurer, attorney general, etc. All are elected by the people and each administers his own office in his own way independent of one another and of

**Team work** the Governor. Should the Governor not be given the power to appoint the heads of State departments, with the power to remove them if they fail to “make good,” the Governor to be responsible to the legislature and the people for a good administration of the State’s affairs?

The Governor has no legal standing in the legislature. If he attempts to influence its policy and obtain the carrying

**The Governor a leader** out of a policy or the passage of laws which he deems good for the State, he may be accused of interfering, or of dictating legislation.

Many times this leads to deadlocks and nothing can be done. The Governor should be the leader of the majority of the legislature. If they fall out and oppose one another, the people should have a chance to decide between them.

The people have been electing too many State officers, more than they can know about when they come to vote for

**Short ballot** them and more than they can watch while they are in office, and when things go wrong it is often hard to find out who is to blame. So it is proposed

that the people shall elect by the "short ballot," the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and one or two legislators in their counties or local districts and then look to the Governor and the legislature for the necessary laws and the proper management of the State's business.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

Organize the class into a State Senate. Go through the process of debating and passing a bill. Can you bring in a map showing the Senatorial districts of your State?

Make a diagram of your State government showing the various departments and their relation one to another.

Why do the people living in a Territory care to become a State in the Union? What additional advantages would come to them? How much more self-government would they have? In what ways is self-government an advantage? Would not the President be likely to appoint a better Governor and better Judges than the people would elect?

Can you point out ways in which State lines and so many different State governments interfere with or prevent efficiency in administration and government? The Constitution provides for uniform bankrupt laws. In what other fields would *uniform* laws by Congress be better for all the States? Make a list of advantages and disadvantages of what is called our *federal system* of government. What system is opposed to the federal system? How have the railroads tended to break down State lines?

### REFERENCES

1. Bramhall, F. D., "How State Laws Are Made and Enforced," from *Lessons in Community and National Life*, U. S. Bureau of Education.
2. Kaye, Percy L., *Readings in Civil Government*.
3. Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics*, pp. 162-183.



## PRONOUNCING LIST

executive  
judicial  
per diem  
petit  
indictment

ěg zěk'ŭ tīv  
joo dīsh'āl  
per dī'ēm  
pět'ī  
īn dīt'měnt

prosecutor  
probate  
appellate  
unanimous

prōs'ē kū tēr  
prō'bāte  
ă pel'ăt  
ŭ năn'ī mŭs

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY. HOW THE NATION GREW

#### THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS CHANGES

The American nation consists of all of its citizens, its people. There are now about 110,000,000 of them. In 1776, when American independence was declared, there were about 3,000,000. These people then Early begin-  
nings lived in thirteen separate colonies, under thirteen different governments. The colonies were only a fringe of little republics along the Atlantic coast. Very few pioneers had ventured west so far as across the mountains. The people now live in 48 different States, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, each State having its own separate government.

Since the nation is made by a union of States, it is called a *federal* nation. That is, the nation is not consolidated with all the people in one mass, but is composed of people organized in States. Some of these States (as colonies) are older than the Union. They made the Union ; that is, they *federated*, and this Union in course of time has grown into a nation. Let us see how this national growth came about.

Before 1776 the colonies were independent of one another though each acknowledged allegiance to the King of Great Britain and the authority of the British Parliament. When the British King and Parliament began to impose upon the Americans, Trouble with  
Great Britain the thirteen colonies sent representatives to a meeting to consult together. This meeting was called a *congress* (Continental Congress of 1774). The colonies decided to act together through this *Continental Congress* to defend themselves against

wrongful and hurtful policies on the part of the mother country. When their wrongs were not righted and war was made upon them to coerce them into subjection they determined upon independence. They remained united through seven years of war and finally achieved their independence.

When, in 1776, they declared in the Continental Congress "that these united colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states" they immediately drew up a plan for what they called a "perpetual union." So, we see that independence and union came together. These first terms of union were

#### Declaration of Independence



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

This ended the Revolution and freed the United States from English rule.

called *Articles of Confederation*. They were not agreed to by all the States until the war for independence was nearly over (1781). But the colonial leaders stood together pretty well during the war because they saw, as Franklin put it, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately."

This "Old Confederation" which the thirteen States first formed was so weak that it lasted but a short time, from 1781 to 1789. It did not make the States into a Nation. It was

only a league of States. No real national powers were provided for. "Each State retained its sovereignty, freedom and independence."<sup>1</sup> There was no President of the United States, no national executive, to execute the laws. There were no national courts to interpret the laws. All ordinary lawsuits were attended to in the States. Congress, which consisted of but one house, was purely a *confederate* body; that is, its members were States, or delegates for the States. These delegates were elected by the States, were paid by the States, and (like ambassadors) they could be recalled by the States; and in Congress they voted by States, each State having one vote. ~~It~~

The "Old  
Confederation"

So the States were supreme and the Congress was only a conference of States. The nation was not recognized. No State was allowed (without the consent of Congress) to make war on its own account, or to make a treaty with a foreign nation, or to go into an alliance with another State. A few things like these the States could not do, but they really held the reins of power and attended to all the ordinary business of government, while the United States had no real powers of government at all. The Government of the Union could not impose taxes nor collect import duties, nor pay its debts, nor regulate commerce, nor carry out its treaties, nor keep the States from issuing paper money, nor enforce any law, nor raise an army, nor aid the States in preserving order. So it was really not a *Government*. All that Congress could do was to pass resolutions and make requests, while the States really decided, each for itself, what should be done. The States had merely formed a friendly union. They had united in the midst of danger for mutual protection, — to manage matters of peace and war, to attend to foreign affairs, to protect themselves against the Indians, to settle disputes between the States, to defend their independence, and to attend to a few other matters of common concern.

Supremacy of  
the States

<sup>1</sup> Articles of Confederation, Art. II.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

The walls of this old hall are hallowed by the words and deeds of men who made our country's early history. It was here that the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. In the summer of 1787, the Constitutional Convention met here. Washington presided; Madison kept a record of the proceedings. Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, kept peace when the debate grew heated. "When a broad table is made," he said, "and the edges of the plank do not fit, the cabinet maker takes a little from both and makes a joint. In like manner, both sides here must part from some of their demands in order to make a good union."

Amending the Old Confederation was so difficult that after several attempts it was given up. The consent of *every* State was necessary before any change could be made, and it was found to be next to impossible to get every State to agree. All the lead-

Difficulty of  
amendment



ing men and all intelligent people saw very clearly that Congress ought to have been given power to regulate commerce and to collect import duties in order to provide for the public debt; but every time an amendment was proposed to bring this about some State objected and nothing could be done.

The people of the States were afraid the central government would become too powerful and the States wished to govern themselves as they pleased. But it was clearly seen that unless the central government were A critical period given more powers, and unless the people took more interest in it and gave it more loyal support, the States would fall apart and the Union would be dissolved. There was, indeed, some talk about their going back within the British Empire. Jealousy and rivalry toward one another were arising among the States. If a *nation* was to grow out of these conditions, if the blessings of liberty were to be preserved, and the domestic peace and the common defense cared for, then "a more perfect union" must be established.

The weakness and failure of the Old Confederation brought about the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which drew up the present Constitution of the United States. The members of this historic convention met in Philadelphia, being called together The Constitutional Convention of 1787 merely to amend the Articles of Confederation. But they saw that the old confederate system, a league of sovereign States, was hopeless; they decided to propose to the States an entirely new constitution. They resolved that a "Government of the United States should be established to consist of a supreme Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary."

Thus three departments of government Three departments of government created were created instead of one,—a two-house Legislature to make the laws, an Executive to enforce the laws, and a Judiciary to interpret the laws, with courts to try citizens for offenses.

The powers were added necessary to make the central government effective :

New powers  
added

(1) To collect import duties and make uniform commercial regulations.

(2) To raise revenue by taxation.

(3) To coin money and provide a uniform currency.

(4) To enforce its own laws through its own courts by its own officers.

Then the Convention resolved that the Constitution which it made, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance thereof, should be *the supreme law of the land*; and that the judges in every State should be bound thereby, *anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding*. And all the members of Congress and the United States officers, Executive and Judicial, and the State officers were to take an oath to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

This made a new Government. It was a *real* government with power to enforce its own laws. It made the citizens of the States also citizens of the United States, and subject to its laws. A *new allegiance* was created. Before this the people of a State had shown respect for the authority of their State but not much for the authority of the United States, because the United States had no direct authority over the citizens. Now *two* real governments existed for the people in every State, the *state* Government and the *central* Government. Each government (state and national) supports the other, each making laws and enforcing them in its proper field. The state government attends to its affairs and the United States government attends to the things assigned to it by the Constitution.

The people had now taken a long and decisive step toward becoming a nation. The power necessary to make the new government a real government did not come from giving to the United States the power to restrain a State or to veto the acts of the State

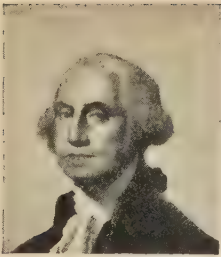
National law  
becomes supreme

legislatures. It came from making the Constitution and the laws and treaties in harmony with it, "the supreme law of the land," to be enforced in its own courts just as the State laws were enforced. If now a State passes an act contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, the courts declare it unconstitutional. It is no law at all and no one is bound by it. If the government or the citizens of a State attempt to resist the laws of the United States, the United States Government proceeds, not to coerce a State, but to suppress its own citizens in rebellion or insurrection.

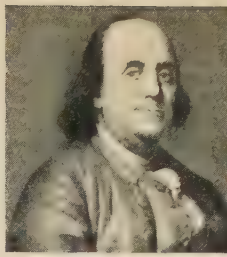
### THE CONSTITUTION

Thus we see the Constitution is a national instrument of government. It is not merely a compact between the States. It lays down the limits of the national govern- **A national government was created** ment and names the powers which Congress may exercise. It names some powers which the States may not exercise, and then it says that all powers not granted to Congress nor forbidden to the States may be exercised by the States. This leaves the greater number of governmental powers with the State governments.

This makes the government of the Union one of *limited* powers. Congress may not do anything it pleases, but only those things allowed by the Constitution. Congress may do whatever is necessary or **Implied powers** proper in carrying out the powers which are allowed but the additional powers must be shown to be a suitable *means* of carrying out these powers. Congress is given power to coin money. Of course, then, it can establish a mint, because that is a necessary means of coining money. To establish a mint is an *implied* power, not a power that is recited, or *expressly* granted in the Constitution. May Congress issue greenbacks as a means of coining money? This is not so clear, but it has been done. Congress has power to lay and collect duties and imposts, in order to provide for the general welfare of the United States. May it, therefore, enact a protective tariff



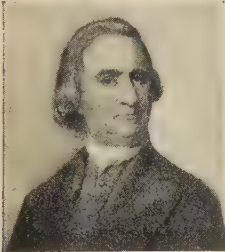
GEORGE WASHINGTON



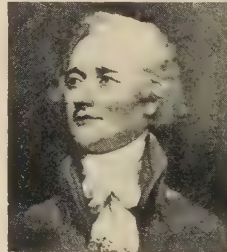
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



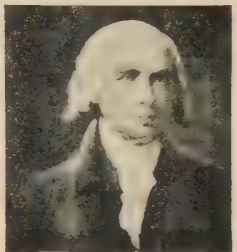
THOMAS JEFFERSON



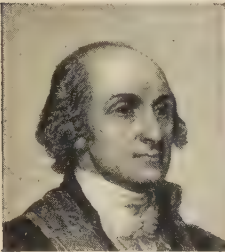
SAMUEL ADAMS



ALEXANDER HAMILTON



JAMES MADISON



JOHN JAY



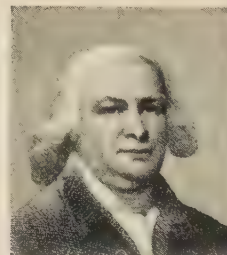
JOHN MARSHALL



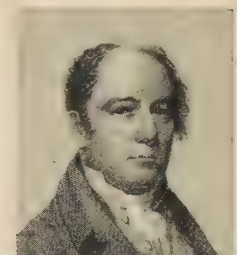
ROGER SHERMAN



JAMES WILSON



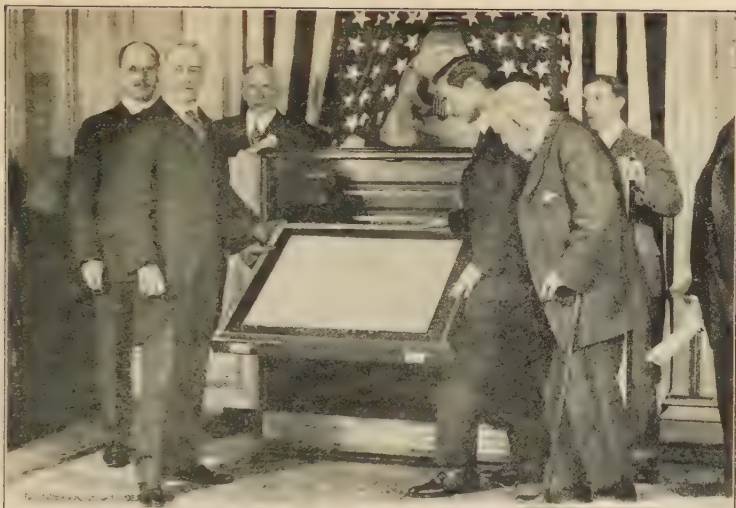
ROBERT MORRIS



RUFUS KING

Some of these men helped to write the Constitution, and some of them showed





how it could be successfully carried out as the fundamental law of the land. Our CONSTITUTION is a famous document in the world's history. In it the American Government is organized and its principles of liberty are stated. New governments forming throughout the world have used it as a model. In this picture you see how carefully it is preserved in the Depart-



ment of State. But to enforce written laws, we must have courts and judges. The Constitution is upheld by the SUPREME COURT, and is interpreted by able judges here in the Supreme Court Chamber at Washington.



as a means of promoting the general welfare? Congress has power "to borrow money." Has it, therefore, power (implied) to establish a Bank, as a means of borrowing money? Congress has power "to raise armies." Does this *imply* that Congress may pass a draft act as a suitable means of raising armies?

From the very beginning of the Constitution numberless disputes have arisen over such questions; that is, over the *extent* of implied powers. Implied powers are those derived from the granted powers as a means of carrying these out. Those who would construe the Constitution strictly would hold down, or limit, these implied powers to such as are *unmistakably necessary* for exercising the powers that are granted. Others would construe the Constitution broadly and allow a liberal use of powers, if these powers were proper or suitable to accomplish the end which the Constitution has in view. In the 135 years since the adoption of the Constitution these implied powers have increased very greatly and they have been an important means of promoting the growth of the nation.

There were those who held that this great increase of power to the national government was a violation of the Constitution.

**State rights and  
national unity**

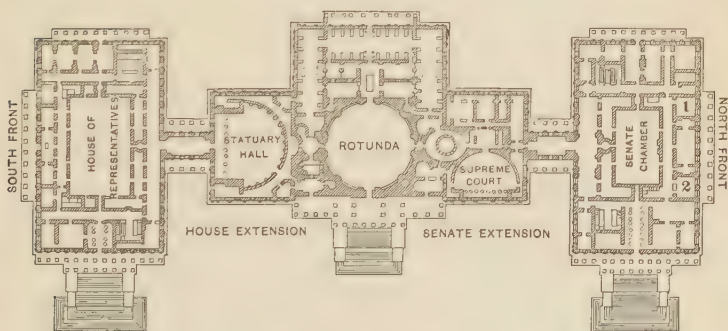
They claimed that many of these implied powers belonged to the States; that the Constitution did not at all create a national government but was merely a compact, or league, between the States, like the Old Confederation; that the States were still supreme, each State having a right to decide for itself what acts of Congress were constitutional and should be obeyed. The "State rights" advocates also held that any State might leave the Union (secede) if it decided that the Constitution had been violated or for any reason which it considered good and sufficient. The Civil War was, in part, a struggle over these conflicting ideas about the Constitution. In that great war the question was settled whether one supreme national government with power to enforce its own laws and

preserve its own life had really been established in 1787. The national idea prevailed, and the citizens of the seceding States,



THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES

The Presidents are inaugurated here. This is a view from the air.



PLAN OF THE CAPITOL

Point out the House of Representatives, the Senate Chamber, and the Supreme Court.

who were also citizens of the United States, were compelled to acknowledge their allegiance to the United States Government and to the nation. Each citizen owes allegiance to the

State and to the United States, but if the two come into conflict his State allegiance must give way. The supreme law of the land is the national law.

The supremacy of this national power has been the outgrowth of many influences and of many years. The railroads, interstate commerce, cheap postage, easy communication between different parts of the country, all these have helped to promote the growth of the nation. Among these nationalizing influences, also, is the power of the Supreme Court (a part of the national government), which gradually came to exercise the great nationalizing power of deciding what the Constitution means and what powers and acts may be exercised under it. In this way the nation has grown and has become *the supreme community* in America.

The new Constitution provided for its own amendment in two ways.

Consult the Constitution and recite the two ways of amending it. Which way has been used?

Nineteen amendments have been adopted. The first ten were adopted at the beginning. They were proposed by the State Conventions that ratified the Constitution and were agreed to by the first Congress (1789-1791). So it may be said that the first ten amendments are a part of the original Constitution and that the Constitution has had only nine amendments since it began operation. The first eight of the original ten contain a *Bill of Rights* safeguarding the rights and liberty of the citizen (see p. 258). The 9th Amendment provides that while certain rights had been named that were not to be violated other rights unnamed were also to belong to the people in the same way. That is, the people were not to be deprived of their liberties and rights by the United States Government merely because they had not named them all in the Constitution.

The Supreme Court a nationalizing factor

The growth of the Constitution

The 10th amendment provides that all powers not delegated to the United States should belong to the States, if they are not prohibited to the States (see pp. 260, 286).

The 11th amendment provides that no State may be sued in a United States court by a citizen of another State, or of another country. A State may consent to be sued in its own courts, but it may not be haled into the courts of another government by a private citizen.

The 12th amendment changed the method of choosing the President. It provides that the presidential electors when they come to choose the President and Vice President shall designate in their ballots the person voted for as President and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President. In the original Constitution the electors were required to vote for two persons without designating which was intended for President and which for Vice President. The person receiving the highest vote was to be President (if he had a majority) and the person receiving the next highest should be Vice President, whether he had a majority or not. After the party system of voting arose the two party candidates were likely to receive the same vote and the election would then be thrown into the House of Representatives every time. The 12th amendment changed this.

For sixty years, from 1804 to 1865, the Constitution was not amended at all. Then between 1865 and 1870, three amendments were added, known as the *war amendments*. These are the 13th, 14th, and 15th. They were adopted as the result of the Civil War in the period of reconstruction.

The Civil War  
amendments

The 13th amendment prohibited slavery throughout the United States. It made the negroes freemen under the law.

The 14th amendment made the negroes citizens, and all others who were "born or naturalized in the United States." The other parts of this amendment determined the conditions upon which the States lately in insurrection might be restored to the Union.

The 15th amendment provides that citizens of the United States shall not be denied the right to vote on account of their "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment did not confer the right of suffrage on the Southern negroes. It *prohibits* a State from denying the suffrage to any citizen of the United States on account of race or color. The suffrage was conferred on the negroes by the Reconstruction Acts of Congress (1867), by which the ex-Confederate States were required to adopt State constitutions providing for negro suffrage. Negroes who had not been permitted to vote in certain Northern States could now not be denied the suffrage under the 15th amendment.

After 1870 more than forty years went by before another amendment was added. But in 1913 the 16th amendment was adopted, which permitted Congress to levy an income tax, without apportioning it among the States according to population.

Recent amend-  
ments

In 1914 came the 17th amendment, which provided that United States Senators shall be elected, not by State legislatures, but by popular vote.

In 1919 the 18th amendment, providing for national prohibition, was ratified.

In 1920 the 19th amendment required woman suffrage throughout the United States. After that amendment no State could deny the suffrage to any of its citizens on account of *sex*.

The adoption of these recent amendments required a long, hard struggle in nearly every case. In the case of prohibition and woman suffrage the struggle lasted over a period of fifty or sixty years. On the income tax and the popular election of Senators the struggle for a change extended over a quarter of a century. As the result of these experiences many of the people came to believe that the process of amendment is altogether too hard and slow. Consequently a "gateway amendment" has been proposed providing an easier and quicker method. This provides that a majority of the two



houses of Congress and a majority of the States in a popular vote may carry an amendment provided the popular vote carries a majority of the whole people of the United States.

Let us now turn to see how this national community is governed under the Constitution.

### EXERCISES ON THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION

1. Tell why the thirteen original colonies first united.
2. Can you repeat the preamble to the Constitution of the United States? What purposes of government are recited in this preamble?
3. Name four important powers which Congress lacked under the Confederation.
4. Recite at least ten powers conferred on Congress by the Constitution.
5. Make a list of powers that are denied to the States. What powers are reserved to the States?
6. What is meant by *implied* powers? Give several illustrations.
7. Show how the Constitution promoted the growth of the nation. What other influences and events promoted nationhood in America?
8. What conflict arose as to the character of the Constitution?
9. What meaning do you get out of the 9th amendment?
10. Can you find out about other amendments to the United States Constitution now pending in Congress? What would you propose as an amendment?
11. An amendment is proposed which provides that any new amendment is to be ratified only by such legislatures of the States as are elected *after* the amendment is submitted to the States; that is, the people of the State should have a right to elect a new legislature with that amendment in view. Do you think this would be a good amendment? Why?
12. Make a diagram of the National Government showing the various departments. Compare with the one made of your State. Which existed first, the State Government or the National Government?

### REFERENCES

1. Bryce, James, *American Commonwealth*, Volume I, Chapters II, III.
2. Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics*, pp. 145-152.
3. Hart, A. B., *Actual Government*, pp. 48-53; 114-118.

4. Woodburn, James A., *The American Republic and its Government*, pp. 60-73.

5. "Local and National Governments," in *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Community Leaflets, United States Bureau of Education.

6. See your American History on the "Growth of the Union" and the "Making of the Constitution."

#### PRONOUNCING LIST

sovereignty

söv'ēr ĭn tĭ

insurrection

ĭn sŭ rĕk'shun

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY: THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET

The President is the Chief Executive of the United States. His office was created by the Convention of 1787, and it has grown to be one of great power and importance. No other ruler in all the world, no king or emperor, has more real power or importance in government than has the American President. All the people at home and the governments and rulers abroad are much interested in what the President does or says. An American citizen may be comparatively unknown before he is nominated for the Presidency, but when he is named and elevated to that high office everyone wishes to know him or know what kind of man he is. All his acts and speeches become of public interest. He is constantly in the public eye. He represents the unity of the nation. He does more than any other one officer to determine our national policies. He is the leader not only of the party that nominated him but of the country as a whole. The President as the head of the nation is an outstanding figure in world politics.

Importance of  
the President

Find in the Constitution the Article which tells what the Executive Department consists of. As you read certain new points in your text look them up in the Constitution and write in the margin of your text the article, section, and clause relating to each point.

The President is elected for a term of four years. He takes office on the 4th of March following his election in November.

The people may re-elect the President as many times as

they please. The Constitution does not forbid this, but no man has ever been elected President for more than two terms. Washington refused a third term. Jefferson and Jackson, who might have been elected for three terms, followed Washington's example, and it became the custom, or usage, to elect no President for more than two terms. A custom of this kind becomes a part of the "law of the unwritten constitution." Of course, the people may at any time change this custom, but it is not easy to change old habits in a nation any more than in an individual.

The term, qualifications and election of the President

The President must be a native born citizen of the United States; he must be thirty-five years of age and must have resided in the United States for fourteen years. These qualifications are required by the Constitution.

Qualifications of the President

The President should have other qualifications. He should be a statesman whose public record and high character are known to the people of the country. It is thought that a native American, one who has some years of experience, and has lived in our country long enough to be interested in it and to know its needs, is the safest kind of a man for so important an office.

The President lives at Washington in the White House, the home provided by the Government for the Presidents and their families. He has a salary of \$75,000, and \$25,000 more for traveling expenses. The President's position requires him to entertain a great deal and he has many official expenses which his position requires. His salary is small compared to the sums that have been allowed to European rulers.

The framers of the Constitution did not think the people knew enough or could be trusted to choose the President and Vice President directly. So they got up an indirect method of election. They provided that the States shall choose *Presidential Electors* and that these *Electors* shall choose the President. Each

How the President is elected

State chooses as many Electors as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The State legislature has full power to decide how the *Electors* shall be chosen. In early days they were chosen in some States by the State legislature; in others by the people



WAITING TO SEE THE PRESIDENT

In this wing of the White House the President has his office. Although he is very busy, he does not forget that he is at the service of all the people. He tries to speak with anyone who has business with a President of the United States. Often he receives large delegations or clubs which go to Washington especially to pay their respects to him. This picture shows such an occasion.

voting in congressional districts; in others by the people voting for all the Electors in the State at large. This last way is the one now used by all the States.

The framers of the Constitution intended that these Presidential Electors should be men of high standing and intelligence who were acquainted with the leading men of the country. The Electors, therefore, would be especially fitted to



weigh the merits of public men. They would exchange views among themselves, and then, acting without thought of party, they would choose the men in all the country best fitted to be President and Vice President.

The plan has not worked out so in practice. The Electors do not really choose the President. They merely ratify a

How the Electoral  
College works

choice already made by the party convention and the people at the polls. The letter of the written constitution is still observed. Each State elects its share of Electors. These Electors make up the *Electoral College*. They meet, not all in one place, but in their respective State capitals, and they go through the required form of voting by ballot for President and Vice President on the second Monday in January following the presidential election. A signed and certified copy of the vote in each State is sent to the President of the Senate. On the second Wednesday in February the Senate and House meet in joint session and the electoral votes are counted. There are 531 electoral votes, 96 for the Senators, 435 for the members of the House.

If no candidate for President has a majority of all the electoral votes, the House of Representatives voting by States

When the House  
elects the Presi-  
dent

(each State having one vote) chooses a President from the three candidates receiving the highest votes in the Electoral College. If no one receives a majority of the electoral votes for Vice President the Senate elects the Vice President from the two who received the highest number of votes in the Electoral College. At the inauguration on March 4th the oath of office is administered to the President by the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The powers of the President are of several kinds:

1. *The Law-enforcing Power.* It is the President's duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." This he does through his subordinate officers whom he appoints, with the consent of the Senate, and whom he may remove (except judges) with-

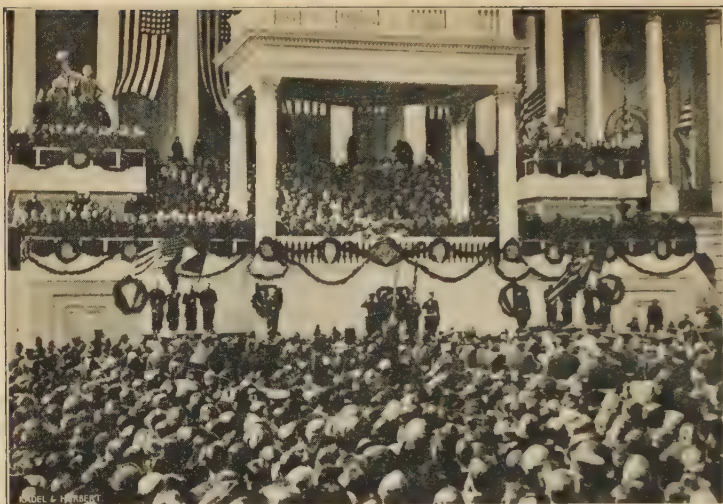
Powers and du-  
ties of the Presi-  
dent

out that consent. He thus controls thousands of subordinates who must act in harmony with the President's policy and desire. The President's attitude toward law enforcement is, therefore, of the utmost importance. He takes an oath to support the Constitution and the laws and it is his sworn duty to execute the laws as they are whether he likes them or not.

2. *The Appointing Power.* There are thousands of Government offices and places at the President's disposal. This causes members of Congress, politicians, and office-seekers to seek the President's favor. They will do his will, support his policies or work for his re-election in order to induce the President to appoint them or their friends to office. The President, of course, can know personally only very few of the men and women he is called upon to appoint. He usually must rely upon the recommendation of Congressmen, party workers, or others who urge appointments upon him. These offices are called the "patronage" of the President. He may use the patronage for political or party purposes, giving the offices to his friends or party workers while letting the interest of the public come second in his thought. Or, he might seek out the very best persons for the offices, asking advice from others than members of Congress who may be personally interested in getting their supporters in office. The President's appointments are confirmed in the Senate by a majority vote.

3. *The Diplomatic Power.* The President may make treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. A two thirds vote of the Senators present is required to ratify a treaty. He appoints ambassadors and consuls to foreign countries and receives similar officers from abroad.

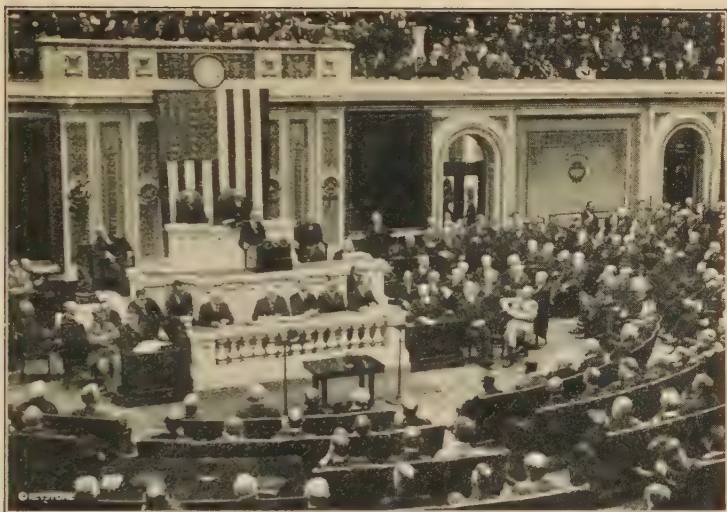
The President is expected to take the initiative, or make the start, in treaty making; but since the Senate may block or defeat a treaty it is always best for the President to inform the Senate of his plans, or take the Senate leaders into his confidence. The President and the Senate should work together in treaty making.



Every four years the people of the United States elect a President. This picture shows the late President Harding on a porch of the Capitol making his INAUGURAL ADDRESS. The first act of the new President is



to select ten men for his CABINET, his counselors and helpers in carrying out his duties. Here you see President Coolidge and his Cabinet on the White House lawn. The President's next important step is to call Con-



gress into session, and he reads a MESSAGE to all the Senators and Representatives assembled in the House. The message to Congress is printed in all the newspapers and should be carefully read by every one.



Then the President takes up his position as the Chief Executive. Every day he comes to his office in the White House to SIGN BILLS, thus making them laws, and to be busy all day long with public affairs.



4. *Advisory Powers.* The President may recommend measures to Congress, and give information to that body about the condition of the country, or urge Congress to attend to some public need. This he does by his messages or addresses to Congress. He may call a special session of Congress for some particular purpose and in a special message he may appeal not only to Congress but to the public opinion of the country to back him up in urging the passage of certain measures.

5. *The President's Legislative Powers.* The President is a part of the law-making power. Since he is the party leader and the head of the government and has so much patronage to bestow upon Congressmen or their supporters, his influence may be decisive in bringing about legislation. The treaties which he helps to make are "the supreme law of the land," and by his veto power he may prevent legislation unless overruled by a two thirds vote in each house of Congress. The veto gives to the President great power in preventing legislation.

6. *The Military Power.* The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy and of the militia of the States when called into the service of the United States. He may call out the militia or state troops to suppress insurrection or to repel invasion, and he is to be the judge as to when this is necessary. He may send the army of the United States into a State to put down a riot or enforce the laws, if called upon to do so by the governor or the legislature of a State; or he may do this without such a call from the State authorities if he deems such a course necessary in order to enforce the laws of the United States.

7. *The Judicial Power* of the President. The President does not directly exercise judicial power, but he has great influence over the Judiciary. He has the power to appoint the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the inferior Federal Courts, and in this way he exerts influence over the character of the judges and the radical or conservative tendency of their decisions.



8. *The Pardoning Power.* The President has the power "to grant reprieves or pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment." To relieve a criminal is to hold up, or delay, the carrying out of his sentence; to pardon him is to set him free and release him entirely from the penalty imposed by the law. The penalty for impeachment is fixed by the Constitution, and the President cannot change that penalty. If civil officers who were impeached could be pardoned by the President he might protect his subordinates whom he had appointed to office and defeat the very purpose of impeachment, which is to give to the Legislative department some check on the Executive department.

If the President dies or resigns, or is unable to perform the duties of his office, or is removed by impeachment, the Vice President becomes President. During a serious illness of the President when he could not attend to the duties of the office, as in the case of President Wilson for a time, and of President Garfield from the time he was shot, July 2, 1881, to his death in September, the Vice President did not assume the duties of the presidency. By the letter of the Constitution he might have done so if he had insisted upon it; but at such times the executive duties have been attended to not by the Vice President but by the Cabinet, or the members of the President's official family.

**The Presidential  
Succession**

The qualifications for the Vice President are the same as for the President. His salary is \$12,000 a year. Since he may some day become President, he should be chosen with as much care as the President himself. The political parties have selected their candidates for Vice President sometimes for geographical reasons, sometimes to satisfy a faction defeated in the party nominating contest for the Presidency. The Whigs were much disappointed in Tyler's succession to the Presidency in 1841, as were the Republicans when Johnson followed Lincoln in 1865.

**The Vice  
President**

Neither Tyler nor Johnson really believed in the principles of the party which nominated them. They were put on the ticket to carry certain votes or sections.

The Constitution gives Congress the power to provide what officer shall act as President in case both the President and Vice President should die or be disabled. This officer shall act until the disability is removed or a President shall be elected.

The law now in force, which is the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, provides that the Cabinet members shall form a line of succession in the following order: 1. Secretary of State. 2. Secretary of the Treasury. 3. Secretary of War. 4. Attorney General. 5. Postmaster General. 6. Secretary of the Navy. 7. Secretary of the Interior. This order of succession includes only those Departments that existed in 1886.

We have noticed that the President has the sole power to remove the civil officers whom he appoints (except judges).

Civil officers are those not military nor naval. **Impeachment of the President** Soldiers and sailors are subject to trial and punishment by military law. Who, then, can remove the President and the judges? This can be done only by impeachment. Only "civil officers" are subject to impeachment. The President is a civil officer, so is a Judge. Members of Congress are not. They are regarded as representatives of their States or of the people.

The process of impeachment is treated in the chapter on the Senate, p. 320.

E 11

✓

## THE CABINET AND THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

The President has advisers. He cannot perform all the duties of his great office alone. To manage the army and navy, the post offices, and foreign relations; to oversee the Government in its relation to agriculture, labor, and commerce, and to enforce the laws throughout the country and to inform Congress of what ought to be done, — all these

duties require the President to have a great many assistants. He works through these subordinate executive officers, who are appointed by him. It is required that the Senate confirm his appointments, but the President can remove these officers without the consent of the Senate.

The *official* advisers of the President are the members of his Cabinet. These are called his "official family." They sit around the cabinet table with him to discuss policies, and to help him to decide what is best to be done. He asks their advice.

The President's  
"official family"

The final decision in all questions rests with the President. He is likely to be influenced, if not controlled, by the judgment of his Cabinet members, but he may act contrary to the advice of his Cabinet if he chooses to do so. If a Cabinet member cannot support the policy which the President wishes to have carried out, then it is his duty to resign and let the President appoint some one in his place who can do so. Sometimes the President removes a Cabinet member, or calls for his resignation, on this account. There may be minor differences within the Cabinet, but on the main policies which the President favors the members should be of one mind and one purpose, so far as possible.

A Cabinet member is not only an adviser to the President but he is also the Head of a Department and he is responsible to the President for its management. There are now ten Executive Departments under the President: State, Treasury, War, Navy, Post Office, Interior, Justice, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. These are named in the order of their creation. Under President Washington there were only the first three Departments. The Heads of these Departments are called *Secretaries*, except the head of the Department of Justice is called the Attorney General.

The Executive  
Departments

The *Secretary of State* attends to foreign affairs, the making of treaties, communicating with foreign governments and with the State governments. He keeps the great seal of the

United States and he signs and issues the proclamations of the President. He directs consuls, ministers, and ambassadors, and receives like officers from other countries. In all these duties he is, of course, subject to the direction of the



A FOREIGN AMBASSADOR

It is the Department of State which carries out the relations of the United States with foreign countries. Many countries are represented by Ambassadors who live in Washington, and in return, the United States sends Ambassadors abroad. This is the Italian Ambassador going to make a formal call.

and the postage stamps. The Treasury Department also enforces the laws against counterfeiting and smuggling. It has a secret service for this purpose. It has a Public Health Service and a Life Saving Service. The new *Budget System*,

President. There are several Assistant Secretaries.

Name some of the great men in American history who have been Secretary of State. Who holds that office now? Has he promoted any important policy in our foreign relations?

The *Secretary of the Treasury* oversees the financial affairs of the United States. He has Assistant Secretaries and many other subordinates. Through these he collects the public revenues, pays the bills, oversees the coinage and borrowing of money and supervises the national banks and the erection of public buildings. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing is in this Department. It engraves the coins, prints the paper money



by which the Executive prepares estimates of Government revenues and expenditures for Congress to act upon, is under the administration of the Treasury Department.

The *Secretary of War* directs the military affairs of the nation, including the Military Academy at West Point. The Secretary is usually not a military man. The Department is assisted by a *General Staff* of military men who advise the



THE NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD ON PARADE

The National Guard is composed of volunteers; that is, men having other occupations who drill regularly, and are prepared to be called into active service. The National Guard is organized by States, but in time of war it becomes part of the National army.

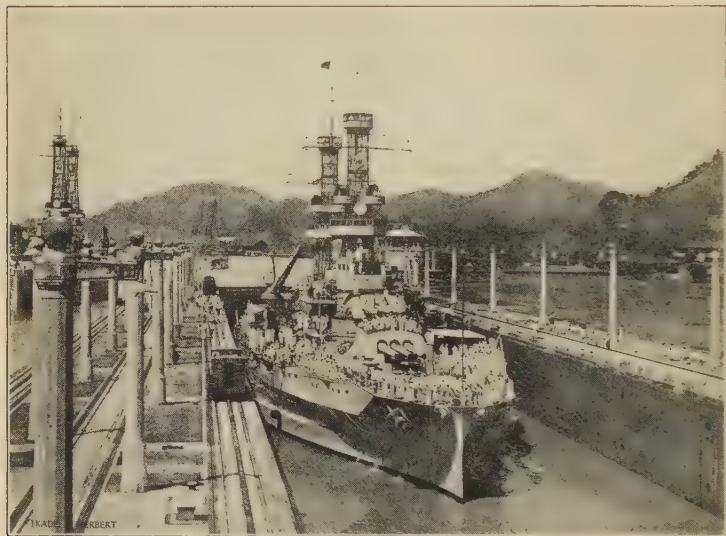
Secretary on all military matters. The head of the army is usually at the head of the General Staff. The Department has charge of harbor improvements, coast defenses, the Panama Canal Zone, and the defense of our island possessions, including Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The *Secretary of the Navy* supervises all naval affairs, assisted by a Naval Board, corresponding to the General Staff of the Army. The United States Naval Academy at Annapolis is



under the Navy Department. There are several Bureaus in this Department, of Naval Yards and Docks, of Ordnance, of Engineering, of Construction and Repairs.

The Navy consists of battleships, battle cruisers, submarines, submarine chasers, airplanes, and many smaller ships. There are over 700 vessels in all with 96,000 officers and men.



THE U. S. BATTLESHIP *Arizona*

The *Arizona*, here shown on a cruise through the Panama Canal, is one of the super-dreadnaughts of the Navy Department. A super-dreadnaught is an enormous battleship and carries large guns. It has a speed of 21 knots or  $28\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour.

The *Postmaster General* manages the mails and the post offices throughout the country. This is the Department with which the citizens come in contact more than with any other. Through this Post Office Department the Government comes with its benefits to every hamlet and nearly every home in the land. The object of the Department is to render service to the people, by carrying mail and packages. At the end of a year it is usually found that the Government has

not collected enough from the people to pay for the expense of the service.

The *Secretary of the Interior* directs many of the internal affairs of the country, especially such as do not naturally fall to some other Department. Under the Secretary are certain Commissioners each in charge of a certain business, — a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of Public Lands, of Patents, of Mines, a Commissioner of Education, and a Commissioner of Pensions. It will be seen that a vast amount of business is handled by the Interior Department. The Reclamation Bureau is also in this Department, which has for its business the irrigation of dry lands, and the draining of swampy lands.

The *Attorney General* is at the head of the Department of Justice. He gives legal advice to the President and he represents the Government (either by himself personally or by the District Attorneys whom he or the President appoints) in all law suits in which the Government is interested.

The *Secretary of Agriculture* seeks to promote the agricultural interests of the country. The Weather Bureau and the



A RECLAMATION PROJECT

Water from the Shoshone River in Wyoming is held in a big lake by this dam. It supplies water to 150,000 acres of land, which might otherwise be entirely dry. Reclaiming land and watering it is part of the work of the Department of the Interior.

forests of the country are under this Department. The Department is doing what it can to serve the farmers, to lead them to know the problems of the soil, the causes of diseases in plants and animals, and, in general, to promote agricultural education.

The *Secretary of Commerce* attends to matters of business and trade, foreign and domestic. The Census Bureau is in



ONE OF THE DUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

To repair the damage done by forest fires and to increase the supply of lumber, which is being exhausted rapidly, nurseries for young trees are part of State and National Reservations.

this Department and every ten years it oversees the taking of the census.\* Weights and Standards, Fisheries, Lighthouses, the Coast and Geodetic Survey are included in this Department.

The *Secretary of Labor* looks to the welfare of wage earners, and to the relation between them and their employers. He directs the bureaus dealing with immigration and naturalization, child labor, and general working conditions.

For attending to the business of all these Departments there are several hundred thousand civil officers. They make up the *civil service*. For many years, from 1829 to 1883, these officers were appointed and removed on the principle of the "spoils system"; that is, the offices were looked upon as belonging to the party in power, to be used to reward party men for party service.



TAKING THE CENSUS

The Department of the Interior compiles a census every ten years. Thousands of people help to record names, and there are machines which seem humanly clever to do the counting. In 1920, there were 105,710,620 people in the United States. This is 13,738,000 more than there were in 1910.

Fitness of men for office was not the first consideration, — sometimes it was entirely disregarded, and competent men were removed from office and other men were put in their places merely because these others had helped to nominate and elect the President or some Senator or Congressman.

In 1883 the Civil Service Commission was established which placed a number of offices under civil service regulations,



which provided that appointments should be determined by the *merit system*, regardless of party. Let the best qualified man be appointed, is the idea of the merit system. To substitute the merit system for the *spoils system* was called *civil service reform*. Since 1883 successive Presidents have enlarged the merit system by bringing many thousands more of the offices within the civil service regulations. The positions are classified, examinations are held, and those who pass are placed on an "eligible list," and from that list appointees are chosen in order of merit. The law requires that all this shall be done without regard to the party relation of those who are trying for office. This has not always been fairly done. The law has been evaded by partisan officers, but in spite of such evasion and partisan opposition, civil service reform has gradually grown into public favor, and the Presidents of both parties have used their official power to advance it.

The Civil Service  
Commission

Civil Service  
reform

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make up a set of six review questions on this chapter for the use of the teacher in quizzing the class.
2. Name the present members of the President's Cabinet. Give, in general, the duties of each.
3. Let each member of the class keep for two weeks or a month clippings of every article or news item that can be found on the President and his Cabinet. Discuss these in class.
4. President Wilson broke down on a western speaking trip. President Harding became ill and died while returning from a journey to Alaska, in August, 1923. Are the work and worry and pressure of the President's office too much for any one man? What can be done for his relief?

For References see p. 347.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

patronage  
attorney

păt'run äge  
ă tûr'nî

geodetic  
Shoshone

jē ô dēt'îk  
Shō-shō'nē



## CHAPTER XVIII

### OUR NATIONAL LAW MAKING BODY: THE SENATE

The law making body of the national government is called *Congress*, which consists of two houses, the *Senate* and the *House of Representatives*. The makers of the Constitution provided for two houses because they were used to a two-house system in their States. Also, their old law making body, the English Parliament, had that form. It was thought one house might be a check upon the other against hasty legislation, and besides the upper house (Senate) might also act somewhat as an executive body to advise and assist the President in appointments and treaties.

The Senate consists of two Senators from each State, elected for a term of six years by popular vote.

The Senate

A Senator is required to be thirty years of age, to have been for nine years a citizen of the United States, and to be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen.

Qualifications  
of Senators

Find this in the Constitution.

When the Senate was first organized (1789) its members were divided into three classes. The terms of the first class expired in two years, of the second in four, of the third in six. This was done in order that one third of the Senators might be elected every two years. When a new State is admitted its two Senators draw lots to find out into what class each will go. One may find himself with a senatorial term expiring in two years. At the next election the term will be for the full six years.

Classes of  
Senators

By this arrangement the Senate becomes a permanent, or continuous, body. It can never entirely change at any election. Two thirds of its members in any new Congress will always have been members of the previous Congress. This adds to the weight of the Senate in national affairs and gives an advantage to it in a conflict with the House. The



SENATE PAGES CHEERING EX-VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL

Boys act as pages and carry messages for the Senators from one office to another or in the Senate Chamber. Here they are cheering for Thomas R. Marshall, who was Vice President in Wilson's administration. The Vice President is the presiding officer of the Senate.

Senate can "play a waiting game" until a new House is elected, when at least two thirds of the old Senators will still be in their seats, while the House membership might be changed entirely.

The Vice President is the presiding officer of the Senate. He is not a member of the Senate, and, therefore, he has no vote except in case of a tie. The Senate chooses one of its own members to act as president *pro tempore* (for the time being)

when the Vice President is absent, or if the Vice President should become President. The Senate, like the House, has other officers, a secretary or clerk, a door-keeper, a postmaster, a chaplain, and a ser-  
 geant-at-arms. The latter keeps order in the house and in the galleries, hunts up absent members and brings them in on the order of the house.

The presiding officer of the Senate

Vice President Coolidge has become President.

Who now is the presiding officer in the Senate?

The Senate exercises three kinds of powers: (1) Legislative. (2) Executive. (3) Judicial.

In legislation the Senate is equal to the House. Its consent is necessary before any bill may become a law. It may not *originate* a revenue bill, since all tax bills must originate in the House; but the Senate can amend such bills and if differences arise between the two houses the will of the Senate is more likely to prevail. When the Constitution was made it was expected that the policies of the country and the main business of legislation would be attended to in the House and that the Senate would merely check or revise legislation when the House had passed laws that were hasty and clearly objectionable or unconstitutional; but time has made the Senate not only equal to the House in legislating, but even more powerful.

Powers of the Senate

The executive powers of the Senate come from its right to aid the President in making appointments and treaties.

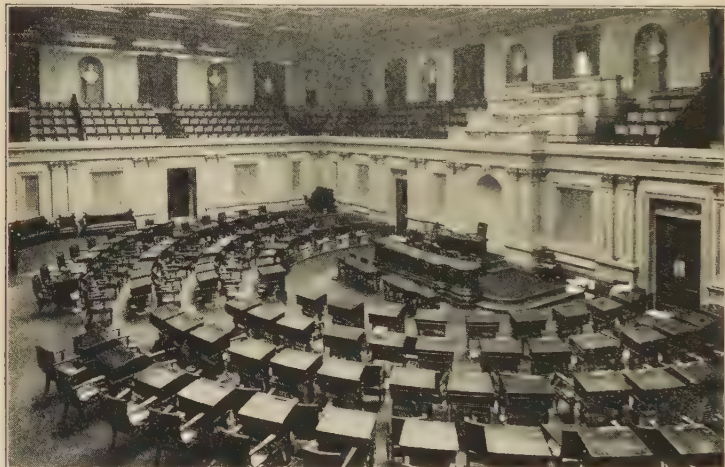
Treaties submitted by the President, before they can become the law of the land, must be confirmed by the Senate, by a two thirds vote of the Senators present.

A *quorum* (a majority of the Senate) must be present for the transaction of business. The present Senate consists of 96 members. Forty-nine would be a quorum. If only a bare majority were present 33 Senators could ratify a treaty. A majority vote of the Senate is all that is required to confirm appointments.

The Senate's executive powers

The Senate goes into *executive session* to consider the President's treaties and appointments. This is a secret session.

**Executive session** The doors are closed, the galleries are cleared and an obligation of secrecy is imposed upon the Senate. This secrecy is a relic of early years. During the first four years of the Senate's history all of its sessions were in secret. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 was held in secret. All the sessions and legislation of Parliament had



THE SENATE CHAMBER IN THE CAPITOL

The total number of Senators is 96, two from each state. The Republicans sit on one side of the chamber, the Democrats on the other.

been carried on behind closed doors until the period of the American Revolution. It was thought the people had no business meddling with legislation or knowing about it. All the people had to do was to pay their taxes and obey the laws. The people had very little influence in public affairs. But since those days the times have greatly changed. The people now are better informed; they read the news and participate more in politics and they want to know what their Senators and Representatives say and do in the conduct of the public

business. No sessions of the Senate are of more interest to the public than its executive sessions, and public opinion is demanding more and more that these sessions shall be in the open, so that the people can be informed as to the conduct of their Senators. Frequently some Senator violates his oath not to tell what goes on in the executive session and the people find out, but this is not a very creditable process of carrying on public business. 644 .691

*Senatorial courtesy* is the way the Senators act toward one another. This does not refer to personal politeness or ordinary good manners, but to the way they support one another in confirming or rejecting the President's appointments. When the Constitution gave to the President the power to make appointments it was understood that he was to decide who should be appointed. The Senate was to check or prevent an appointment only when some unfit person was named. Later the Senators began to claim for themselves the right to control appointments and removals within their own States. So it came about that if the President appointed a man to office in New York, for instance, without consulting the Senators from that State, or in opposition to their wishes, the "courtesy" of the other Senators would lead them to support their fellow members and vote to reject the President's selection without regard to fitness. By standing together in this way the Senators, while they cannot dictate to the President whom he shall appoint, may annoy him and prevent his selecting the man of his own choice. The political pressure which the combined Senators may bring to bear may make the President feel that he might get on better with the Senate if he accepted the Senators' recommendations for Government appointments in their respective States. This senatorial courtesy often leads to a misuse of power which the President should resist, but oftentimes he is tempted to "play politics" and let the Senators have their way, as he may need their support for some of his measures.

The courtesy of  
the Senate



The judicial power of the Senate comes from its right to act as a court of impeachment. The Senate has the sole power to try impeachments. In such a trial the Senators are not legislators but judges, hearing the evidence and the argument, as in a court of law, and deciding "guilty" or "not guilty." The House brings the charges and acts as the prosecutor, through a committee appointed for that purpose. A two-thirds vote of the Senators present is necessary to conviction. The penalty in case of conviction is removal from office and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States. The officer after his conviction may be indicted, tried, and punished for his offense in a court of law. When the President is impeached the



THE SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

Members of the Senate have their offices in this building. It is connected with the Capitol by an underground passage.

Chief Justice presides. The President and Vice President may be charged on impeachment with "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors." This does not mean political misconduct or pursuing a wrongful policy, but violating the Constitution or committing some act which is a crime under the law. The President cannot be turned out unless it can be proved to two thirds of the Senate that he has violated the Constitution or committed some crime.

In 1868 the House brought impeachment charges against President Johnson, but he was acquitted before the Senate by one vote.

Power and importance of the Senate

The Senate has become a body of great power and influence. Some think that its powers are too great and that they should be restricted. It has been contended lately that the power to ratify treaties

should be taken from the Senate and given to the House, since the House represents the people while the Senate represents only the States. A small State with a very few people is just as powerful there as a large populous State.

The Constitution makers of 1787 promised that no State shall be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate without its consent. This promise has so far been kept, and as long as the Senate does not abuse its powers and shows itself responsive to public opinion, it is likely to retain its present form and to continue to deserve the respect of the nation.

The Senate in the past has been the scene of the activity of noted statesmen in American history — Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Benton, Seward, Sumner, Chase — great men North and South, who have honored the country with their services. Popular election of Senators has not added to the greatness of its men, nor has it made the body fully responsive to popular opinion. If the Senators fail to do what the people want and popular disapproval arises, only one third of them can be turned out at one time; the other two thirds can “sit tight” and wait till the storm blows over. Also, as we have seen, representation in the Senate has no relation to population, since the smallest State has the same number of Senators as the largest. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, it can be truthfully said that the Senate has proved successful since, on the whole, it represents the people fairly well, it is convenient in size, and it is a permanent, dignified, and powerful body which still attracts patriotic and able men.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Nevada has a population of 80,000, New York of 10,000,000. Do you think these two States should have the same voting power in the United States Senate? Is it possible to amend the Constitution in such a way as to give to a large State more votes in the Senate than a small State? Do you think this ought to be done? Why?
2. Describe the process of impeachment.

3. Is the practice of "senatorial courtesy" in appointments a good thing?
4. Should executive sessions of the Senate be opened to the public?
5. Would it be better to give to the House rather than to the Senate the power to ratify treaties? Why?
6. Explain why the Senate is more powerful than the House.
7. Who are the Senators from your State?
8. Keep clippings from your papers showing what they are doing.

For References see p. 347.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

pro tempore

prō tēm'pō rāy

quorum

kwō'rūm

## CHAPTER XIX

### OUR NATIONAL LAW MAKING BODY: THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The lower house of the national legislature is the House of Representatives, called the *House*, for short. The number of Representatives from each State depends upon its population. After every national census (which the Constitution requires shall be taken every ten years) the Congress decides how large the House shall be and by an *apportionment act* allots to each State its share of Representatives. The number of members decided upon is divided into the whole population of the United States. The result will be the average number of people in each congressional district. For instance, after the census of 1910 Congress decided that there should be 435 members of the House. Dividing the whole population of the States by 435 the result was 211,000<sup>+</sup>. So there would be one Representative for about every 211,000<sup>+</sup> people. To find how many Representatives each State should have, the population of the State is divided by 211,000<sup>+</sup>. New York, the most populous State, has 43 members; Nevada, the least populous, has only one. Nevada has about 80,000 people, only about a third enough to entitle it to one Representative; but the Constitution provides that each State shall have at least one Representative.

Congress may regulate the method of electing Representatives. In 1842 Congress enacted that Representatives should be elected in districts "composed of contiguous and compact territory and containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." It is not possible to make the districts ex-

The apportionment

Congressional districts

actly equal in numbers ; but the State legislatures whose duty it is to lay out the districts, have often, and most unjustly, made the districts very unequal in numbers. This is done

by what is known as the "gerrymander."  
 "Gerry-  
 mandering " *Gerrymandering* is the process of laying out the districts for the election of representatives

(whether to the State legislature or to the national Congress) in such a way as to give to a political party an unfair advantage, enabling it to carry more districts than the party is fairly entitled to. Many of the districts may have to be



THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

This building contains offices and Committee rooms for Representatives. It is also connected by a subway with the Capitol where the House meets.

quite distorted in shape, with the counties arranged in areas shaped like "dumb bells" or "shoe strings" or "stairways," — terms which indicate the unusual shapes into which the counties have been arranged to make districts of the right political complexion. One district in a State has been made to consist of only 150,000 people while as many as 450,000 people (of the opposition)

were put into another district. This was very unequal and unfair representation, and such gerrymandering is political trickery of the worst kind. It has become unpopular and unsafe.

The members of the House are elected by a direct vote of the people. They are nominated either by political party conventions or by party primaries. Anyone

How Representatives are elected may vote for a Representative (or Senator) who is entitled by his State constitution "to

vote for the most numerous branch of his State legislature." Who may vote depends altogether upon State law, except according to the 15th and 19th amendments a State may not



prevent citizens of the United States from voting on account of race, color, or sex. Congress has provided that its members shall be elected by ballot and on the same day throughout the Union. This was done in 1871 and 1872. Those States were exempted from the uniform election day whose constitutions provided a different day. Maine and Vermont still elect their Congressmen in September, and Oregon, in June.

Who may vote for Representatives

A Representative must be at least twenty-five years old, and must have been a citizen of the United States for not less than seven years. The Constitution does not require him to live in the district he represents, but custom requires it. We seldom, if ever, hear of a man running for Congress for a district in which he does not live.

Qualifications

Congress determines the salaries of its members. The salary of a Representative, as of a Senator, is now \$7500 a year, with an allowance for a secretary, for stationery, and for mileage. A sum of twenty cents a mile is allowed in going to and from Washington by the shortest route. Although Congressmen may increase their own pay, public sentiment restrains them from doing so during the term of the Congress for which they have been elected. Any increase thought to be necessary is usually made to begin with the next Congress.

Salaries, vacancies, privileges

If a vacancy occurs in the House by death, resignation, or expulsion of a member, the Governor of his State must issue a notice, or *writ*, for a special election. This is done with as little delay as possible.

Vacancies

A member of Congress, of either house, has the privilege of freedom from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. If members could be arrested and detained on frivolous or trumped up charges they could be prevented from attending the sessions of Congress; then their districts would be unrepresented at times when their services were much needed.

Privileges of members

No member of Congress may hold any civil office of the United States during his Congressional term, nor may he be appointed to any office the salary of which has been increased during his term. This is to prevent members from trying to create offices, or make other offices pay more, with a view to their own appointment thereto. The framers of the Constitution were very anxious to provide against this form of corruption. Sometimes members of Congress who have been defeated for re-election are appointed by the President to lucrative offices already existing. This is done for party or personal reasons. The people may have voted to retire such men to private life, but their party President is induced to take care of them by providing for them good paying appointments. These defeated candidates, when so appointed, are called "lame ducks" in politics.

The officers of the House are the Speaker, Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, Door-Keeper, Postmaster, and Chaplain. The Clerk with assistants, keeps the rolls and records. He presides over a new House while it is being organized, or until the Speaker is elected. The Clerk makes up the roll of a newly-elected House, but he is required to place upon the roll the names of the members who hold the official State certificate of election. If a member's seat is contested by the candidate who ran against him the name of the one who holds the official certificate is placed on the Clerk's preliminary roll. The House, after it is organized, decides for itself what members have been duly elected and are entitled to their seats.

The House elects its own officers. That is, it goes through the form of voting in, or ratifying, the officers already selected in the *caucus* of the majority party, that is the political party which has the most members in the House. The members who go into their party caucuses to select their candidates for the House officers are expected to stand by the decision of the caucus.

Congressmen  
may not create  
offices for them-  
selves

Officers of the  
House

How officers are  
chosen: the  
party caucus

So when the new House assembles in its opening session the members of the majority party have already agreed upon the men to be elected as officers. The caucus of the minority party also agrees upon a list of candidates to be voted for, though without any hope of electing them. The man whom the minority party caucus nominates for Speaker will usually be the minority leader on the floor of the House.

The *Speaker* is the presiding officer of the House. The title "Speaker" comes from England, from the time when this officer served as the spokesman for the Commons when that body wished to address the King. In America the Speaker is a party leader and he seeks to give to his own party whatever advantage he can fairly bestow from the powers of his office. In the House of Commons the Speaker is merely a moderator; that is, a non-partisan presiding officer who applies the rules, preserves order, and treats members of all parties alike.

#### The Speaker

Formerly the Speaker's power was very great. He could appoint the committees of the House and as the legislation was carried on largely through committees, the Speaker was very powerful in determining what legislation should be enacted. In fact, from his power to make up the committees he could promote or retard proposed legislation, and he was thus the most powerful personage in the country in controlling legislation. The Speaker also could "recognize" or assign the floor to such members as he saw fit, and thus he could decide what motion or business could come before the House. Besides, he was a member of a small "Committee on Rules," and this committee had it in its power to decide the order in which measures could come up for consideration; and how much time should be allowed for debate. It could give preference to some measures and retard or defeat others. Once a new member was anxious that a measure which he was proposing should pass the House. An old experienced member told him he should learn first whether it was likely to "pass the

#### Powers of the Speaker

Speaker." A bill which the Speaker opposed had little chance of success.

There was much agitation against this *one man power* of the Speaker and in 1911, he was shorn of much of his power.

The power to name the committees was then transferred to the House itself. Here again the party caucus comes in, and exercises the real power. The caucus of the majority party elects the majority members of the important Committee on Ways and Means, and that committee is made a "Committee on Committees" to select the other majority members of the various committees. The minority caucus or the minority leader selects the minority committee members. The Speaker was also deprived of his place on the Rules Committee, which the caucus now selects. The legislative plans work well if the party members all stand by the caucus action and support the few leaders who have been put by the caucus in charge of the business of the House. The control of the House is still in the hands of a very few men, but this control is exercised by the consent of the caucus instead of the consent of the Speaker. Sometimes a group, or *bloc* of members become *insurgents*; that is, they revolt against the authority of the caucus and vote against the measures which their party leaders have agreed upon and are trying to put through. This tends to break down party discipline, to disturb party unity, and makes it difficult to carry out a party program in legislation. In 1921-1922 an "agricultural bloc" of Senators and Representatives from middle and western States voted against and defeated measures that were recommended by President Harding and supported by the party caucus leaders. This *bloc* was very powerful in passing legislation (favored by farmers' organizations) that the party leaders did not have on their program. So the House can be controlled by its private members if enough of them stand together and defy party authority.

The Speaker still has much importance and influence. He presides over the House during its regular proceedings; he

refers bills to committees and he is the leader of his party in the House. He arranges with the floor leaders in assigning time for members to debate pending measures, and he can still "see" the right member while several are contending for the floor at the same time.

The party *Whip* in Congress is one of the aids or lieutenants, who help the Speaker and the leaders in conducting party business, in calling caucuses, in keeping mem-  
bers informed as to what is coming up, and in  
keeping the leaders informed as to sentiment  
and conditions among the members, so as to let the leaders know to what extent they can depend upon party support.

The party  
Whip

No one in Congress, however hard he tries, can inform himself about one tenth of the bills that are introduced there or even half of those that come up for  
passage. How, then, does a member know  
how to vote? How will he know whether a

The committee  
system

bill is good or bad? He will have to rely upon the judgment of others. He will have to take the word or recommendation of the committee whose business it is to know about a measure. So the committee system has arisen as a means of distributing the work of the House among many small groups. It also helps to dispose of hundreds of harmful or useless bills by "putting them to sleep," or "smothering" them in committee. At the opening of every Congress nearly every member has a lot of bills to introduce; so there are thousands of bills and the whole House has time to consider only a small part of them. The great mass of these bills are never referred back to the House but die in the offices of committees, the graveyard of unnumbered bills.

There are more than fifty regular standing committees in the House, and, at times, several special committees. There is a Committee on Ways and Means, whose duty it is to attend to tax bills, or money-raising bills; a Committee on Appropriations, which attends to appropriating money to various government needs and departments. There is a Committee



## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DECEMBER 6, 1922.

Mr. SANDERS of Texas introduced the following bill: which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and ordered to be printed.

---

# A BILL

For the erection of a public building at Mineola, Wood County,  
Texas.

---

When a BILL is introduced into the House of Representatives it is given to a Committee because the entire House could not consider carefully each of the bills introduced every session. So there are about sixty committees.



This is one of the COMMITTEES discussing the bills on the table. If the Committee reports favorably, the bill then has three readings in the House



before it is voted upon, so that an opportunity for DEBATE is given. When it has passed the House of Representatives, it goes to the Senate Committee and is finally voted upon by the Senators. If the President

ascertain, adjust, and determine the amount due on all claims for damages occasioned since the 6th day of April, 1917, where the amount of the claim does not exceed the sum of \$3,000, occasioned by collisions or damage incident to the operation of vessels for which collisions or other damage vessels of the Navy or vessels in the Naval Service shall be found to be responsible, and report the amounts so ascertained and determined to be due the claimants to the Congress through the Treasury Department for payment as legal claims out of appropriations that may be made by Congress therefor."

*McClure*

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*Orin*

Vice President of the United States and  
President of the Senate.

Approved


December 28, 1922,

*Wm. H. Wood*

© HARRIS & EWING

approves it, he signs it, as you see here. If he vetoes it the bill must go back to the house in which it was first introduced.

on Commerce, on Rivers and Harbors, on Postal Affairs, on Naval Affairs, on Military Affairs, on Indian Affairs, on Foreign Affairs, etc. The majority party has a majority on each of these committees, which makes that party responsible for legislation or failure to legislate. The committees vary in size from three to twenty-two. Each of these committees takes into consideration the bills assigned to it, and no bill goes before the House for passage until it has been considered by its proper committee. The House trusts its committees to report bills favorably or to kill them off by not reporting them at all, as the interests of the public may require.

 Committee meetings for the consideration of bills are usually held in secret, and no records are kept of their proceedings.

**Committee meetings** Consequently members cannot very easily be held responsible for the way they speak and vote behind the closed doors of the committee room. Often when the public interest is aroused over a pending measure the committee having it in charge will permit "open hearings"; then advocates and opponents of the measure may come before the committee and present their arguments. Still no record is kept of the committee proceedings except what may appear in the newspapers, whose accounts may be prejudiced or colored according to their party interests. There is a rising demand that full publicity be given to the committee proceedings, since the fate of a measure is usually decided in the committee. It is right that the influences brought to bear in committee should be known to the public and that a member's constituents should know how he votes and acts toward a measure, not only in the open House, but in the committee where his vote and influence may be much more important.

Three exclusive powers belong to the House in which the Senate may not take part: (1) To originate revenue bills. (2) To prefer impeachment charges. (3) To elect the President if the Electoral College fails to elect.

**Exclusive powers of the House**

## THE CONDUCT OF CONGRESS: HOW LAWS ARE MADE

The process by which a bill becomes a law is as follows: A member may introduce a bill into either house. If it is a revenue bill it must originate in the House of Representatives. The presiding officer refers the bill to its appropriate committee. If the committee is unfavorable to its passage, the bill may never again see the light of day; it will be kept in the committee and never be reported back to the house, unless that body by a special vote, or resolution, orders the committee to report it, which seldom happens. If the committee, acting on the bill favors its passage, it will make a favorable report to the house, perhaps suggesting some amendments, but recommending that the bill be made a law.

The bill is then placed on the calendar to await its turn to come before the house, though the Committee on Rules, known as the party "steering committee," may advance it out of its turn. If the bill is a party The calendar caucus measure, all the loyal party members of the majority party will support the committee's recommendation and vote to pass the bill. If the bill has not been adopted as a party measure the members will then vote for or against it as their judgment and conscience may determine.

If the measure is a House bill it is debated in the "Committee of the Whole." When the House goes *into the Committee of the Whole*, the Speaker calls some member to the chair and all the members of Committee of the Whole the house sit as a committee. In the Committee of the Whole discussion is freer, less hampered by rules, and a record is not kept of how individual members vote. The time for debate, however, has to be limited, and the Committee on Rules determines the time limit and allots to each side of the debate a fair amount of time. A leader on each side may be allowed an hour in opening the discussion, and after that, under the "five-minute rule" no member is allowed to speak longer than five minutes, nor may a member speak twice except by the consent of all.

The Committee of the Whole may add amendments, and if it votes favorably on the bill, the Committee "rises," the Speaker again takes the chair, and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole reports the bill to the House for passage. At times the most important public measures, involving the interests of millions of people and the spending of billions of dollars, are passed with only two or three hours of discussion. The committee in charge has worked the matter over carefully and has discussed it in full. The House is sometimes criticized for not allowing time to let members discuss measures. The reply is that the whole House cannot be a deliberative, debating body but it must be a *deciding* body, and it accepts the work of its committees after the reasons for the passage of a bill have been briefly summed up by the chairman.

Filibustering in Congress is the process of resorting to parliamentary tactics for the purpose of delaying or preventing the action of the House, or the passage of a measure. The process consists of making "dilatory motions," such as "moving to adjourn," or that "when the house adjourns it shall adjourn to a certain hour," or "calling for the yeas and nays," which makes a half-hour roll call necessary. Since these motions may be repeated without limit a measure could not be brought to a vote and the House could get nothing done unless it could find some way to defeat the filibustering minority who are trying to prevent action. This may be done partly by the refusal of the Speaker to recognize a "dilatory motion," and also by a parliamentary rule known as the *previous question*. If a member moves the "previous question" that motion must be put immediately before the House and if the House votes for it, then the "question," or bill, which is up for passage ("previous" to all the filibustering motions) must be put on its passage. By the "previous question" the House is given a chance to say whether it will immediately vote upon the pending bill to the exclusion of everything else. If it says so, then no other business can intervene. All other motions,

**Filibustering**

**Closure Rule**



even a motion to adjourn, may be declared out of order and the members may vote "yes" or "no" on the bill. This is called the *Closure Rule*, because it "closes" the debate.

In the Senate a more extended debate is allowed. Formerly debate in that body was unlimited and it was possible for a small group of determined Senators, by long-winded speeches and by reading long documents, and by other dilatory tactics, to filibuster for several days at a time and prevent the Senate from passing a measure which the majority was ready or anxious to pass. Since 1917, however, a modified form of the previous question is allowed in the Senate for closing debate. It is not much used, however.

A bill must have a majority of a quorum in order to pass. A *quorum* in any parliamentary body is the number authorized by its constitution legally to transact business. The Constitution of the United States says that in Congress a majority of each house shall be a quorum.

The quorum :  
how determined

Formerly in the House of Representatives a quorum was determined by a roll call; if a majority answered to their names it was decided that a quorum was present; if not, it was held that a quorum was not present; the pending business was blocked and the House could not act until the majority were both present and ready to do business by voting or answering to their names. Consequently, members could filibuster by "breaking the quorum"; that is, they could stop the business before the House by sitting quietly in their seats and refusing to answer when the roll was called. In 1890 Speaker Reed stopped this kind of filibustering by "counting a quorum"; that is, he added to those who answered to the roll call the names of a number of members whom he saw present and instructed the Clerk to count them as "present but not voting." Thus a legal quorum was established.

If a quorum is not actually present the house may compel the attendance of absent members. The Sergeant-at-Arms

may send for the absentees and they may be brought in and fined or censured for unexcused absence. Many times the House goes on transacting business while there is no quorum present, in fact, while only a handful of members are present.

# Congressional Record.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, FOURTH SESSION.

Vol. 64.

WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1923.

No. 24.

## SENATE.

SATURDAY, January 6, 1923.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., offered the following Prayer:

Our Father, we turn toward Thee this morning supplicating Thy guidance, and as we look out upon a world in distress we beseech of Thee for Thy revelation to all the peoples of earth. Give wisdom in deliberation, give judgment and guidance continually, and so enable us in our own land and life to realize the highest interests to Thy glory. Through Jesus Christ. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL.

The reading clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Wednesday, January 3, 1923, when, on request of Mr. CURTIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### REPORT OF THE CHESAPEAKE & POTOMAC TELEPHONE CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of that company for the year 1922, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

### DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a list of documents and papers on the files of the Interior Department not needed in the conduct of business and having no permanent value or historic interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition, which was referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments. The Vice President appointed Mr. NORWICK and Mr. MYERS members of the committee on the part of the Senate, and ordered that the Secretary notify the House of Representatives thereof.

### PETITIONS.

Mr. LADD presented the petition of Helarich Kuball and 14 other citizens of Dresden and vicinity in the State of North Carolina, praying for the passage of legislation extending to the famine-stricken peoples of the German and other countries referred to the Committee on

fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 963) thereon.

I give notice that I expect to call up the bill for consideration on Monday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4281) to appropriate \$500,000 for the purchase of seed grain to be supplied to farmers in the crop-failure areas of eastern Washington, said amount to be expended under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. NICHOLSON:

A bill (S. 4282) for the purchase of the statue The Pilgrim Mother and Child of the *Mayflower* and presentation of same to the Government of Great Britain; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. BAILL:

A bill (S. 4283) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to require operators of motor vehicles in the District of Columbia to secure a permit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DUKESUM:

A bill (S. 4284) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth F. Long; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 4285) defining the legal status of all children under 18 years of age who violate Federal statutes and the creation of a United States parental court; defining the duties and jurisdiction of a chief United States parental guardian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRISON:

A bill (S. 4286) for the relief of James Francis McDonald and Sarah Elizabeth McDonald; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LENROOT:

A bill (S. 4287) to provide credit facilities for the agricultural and live-stock industries of the United States; to amend the Federal farm loan act; to amend the Federal reserve act; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TOWN:

## THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

This is published every day while Congress is in session. Except in times of war, and when the Senate goes into secret (executive) session, all that is said is made public in this journal.

At such times, so long as no one objects to what is being done the House is supposed not to know that there is no quorum present. But if any member wishes to object to what is going on while routine bills are passing through the legislative hopper at a rapid rate, he may "raise the question of the quorum."

Then attention is called to the fact that there is no quorum and the passing of these bills must stop until a quorum is brought in. This delay may prevent the passage of some "bad legislation," which might have gone by in the dull routine of regular business. This illustrates the importance of having some "watch dog of the treasury" on guard to object at the proper time.

After a bill has passed one house it goes to the other, where it goes through essentially the same proceeding. If the bill is amended in the second house it must then go back to the house in which it originated. If The conference committee that house does not agree to the changes, a special committee is appointed, known as a *conference committee*, made up of members from both houses. This committee will try to harmonize the differences between the two houses and come to some compromise agreement. When the bill is agreed to and passed by both houses, it goes to the President for his consideration.

If the President approves the bill he signs it and it then becomes a law. If he disapproves the bill he may veto it, or forbid it to become a law. He then sends it back without his signature to the house in The President's veto which it originated, with a message telling why he disapproves the bill. Congress may then reconsider the bill and if passed by a two-thirds vote of each house it becomes a law in spite of the President's veto. If the bill fails to get a two-thirds vote in either house it is dead, during that Congress. A similar bill may come up in a later Congress.

The President is allowed ten days in which to consider a bill. If he does not sign it or veto it within that time, the bill becomes a law the same as if he had signed it. If Congress adjourns before the President The "pocket veto" has had ten days to consider a bill, he may kill the bill entirely by refusing to sign it. This is called a *pocket veto*. The President is spoken of as having kept the bill in his pocket. The pocket veto is absolute, as Congress has no

opportunity to reconsider the measure. If the measure is ever to become a law it must be brought about by introducing a new bill into the next Congress or at the next session.

It often happens in Congress that members seek to get as much of the public money as they can for their local districts.

This money is wanted for government build-  
**Appropriations:** ings, improving rivers and harbors, building  
 "pork" and "pie" dams and roads, and for carrying on other gov-  
 ernment enterprises. Members combine to vote for one an-  
 other's local interests in passing wasteful appropriation bills.  
 This is *log-rolling*, one member helping another with the "job"  
 each wishes to put through. The whole amount of money to  
 be appropriated for various projects is sometimes called the  
 "Congressional pie," sometimes the "Congressional pork  
 barrel." Dividing this money up among the various dis-  
 tricts is called "distributing pork," or "cutting the pie."  
 Oftentimes this practice becomes a source of great waste, ex-  
 travagance, and corruption in voting away public money.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Make out a set of ten review questions on this chapter.
2. How many Representatives are in Congress from your State? Who represents your district? How long has he served in Congress? Where does he live? Name the counties in your district.
3. Explain the nature of the *Apportionment Act*.
4. Tell how "gerrymandering" is carried out. Show the unfairness of it. Find a map of your State showing the congressional districts and see if any gerrymandering has been carried out.
5. Is it best to require a Representative to be a resident of the district which he represents? Why? Does the Constitution require this? In what sense does the Representative represent the whole country?
6. How are candidates for Congress nominated in your State? How do they make themselves known to the public and appeal for votes?

### PRONOUNCING LIST

contiguous  
 Insurgents

kŏn tĭg'ŭ ũs  
 ĭn sŭr'jĕnts

Gerrymander  
 dilatory

gĕr ĭ măn'dĕr  
 dĭl'ă tŏ rĭ

## CHAPTER XX

### THE JUDICIARY

In addition to the *Executive* and *Legislative* departments of our national government we have also the judicial department, or the *Judiciary*. This consists of the Supreme Court and such lower courts as Congress may choose to establish from time to time. The Constitution said there should be a Supreme Court, but Congress was left to decide whether there should be lower courts, and, if so, how many. Federal courts

In 1787, when the Constitution was being made the men from the small states contended that the Supreme Court would be able to attend to all the court cases of the United States. It was expected that the national courts would have very little to do; all ordinary law suits would be attended to in the State courts. But with the growth of the country and by the expansion of national powers it has been found necessary to create many lower courts to hear and decide numberless cases coming under national law. There are now besides the Supreme Court, nine Circuit Courts of Appeal and about a hundred District Courts. These Courts have District Attorneys who act as prosecuting attorneys to enforce United States laws and punish law violators. There are United States Marshals also, who act like Sheriffs in arresting offenders and in executing the orders and decisions of the Court.

There is also a *Court of Claims*, consisting of five judges, which sits at Washington and hears claims against the United States Government.

Congress has also created a *Court of Customs Appeals*, which decides disputes arising under the tariff laws.



Also Congress creates courts for the Territories and for the District of Columbia.

#### Special courts

All Federal judges are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. Their term is "for good behavior," which means for life usually, since they can be

#### Method of appointment and term of office

removed only by impeachment for crime, which they are not at all likely to commit. Their salaries cannot be decreased after they are appointed (though they may be increased). The judges are thus made independent of popular prejudice or political control and are encouraged to decide cases in harmony with their honest convictions. The Chief Justice receives a salary of \$15,000 a year, the Associate Justices \$14,500 each.

After a case has been tried and decided in a District Court, where a Federal jury may hear the case and give its verdict,

#### Appealing to higher courts

it may be appealed to a Circuit Court which acts as a Court of Appeals. In this Circuit Court there is no jury, but several judges may sit to hear the case. From the decision of the Circuit Court, if one of the parties to the suit is still dissatisfied, appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court whose decision in the matter is final. The Judges of the Circuit Courts and of the Court of Customs Appeals receive \$8500, those of the Court of Claims \$7500, with \$500 additional for the Chief Justice of the latter court.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. It sits in Washington and passes on cases

#### The Supreme Court: What kinds of cases come up in Federal Courts

as a bench of judges, without a jury. Lawyers argue the case on each side and a majority of the Justices decide the case. The Supreme Court is chiefly an *appellate* court; that is, a court to which appeals are taken with a view to changing the decisions of lower courts, where the suits were tried in the first place. But the Supreme Court also has *original* jurisdiction; that is, certain cases may *begin* there. These are cases relating to ambassadors and consuls; and cases in which a State is a party.

The cases that may be appealed to the national courts are of several kinds :

(1) All cases to which the constitutional laws and treaties of the United States apply.

(2) Cases arising on the sea (*maritime jurisdiction*) such as cases of piracy, murder, or any other crime on a vessel at



THE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

Most of the work of the Chief Justice and the eight Associate Justices is to decide cases which come to the Supreme Court from other Federal courts or from State courts. The Justices are, from left to right : standing, Pierce Butler, Louis D. Brandeis, George Sutherland, and Edward Terry Sanford. Seated : Willis Van Devanter, Joseph McKenna, Chief Justice William Howard Taft, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Clark McReynolds.

sea, and belligerent captures, or differences between belligerents and neutrals in time of war.

(3) Cases in which the United States is a party ; cases between two States, or between citizens of different States ; or between a State and a foreign country, or between citizens of either. To prevent the United States Courts from being

overloaded with a lot of little cases between citizens of different States, Congress has provided that suits involving not more than \$3000 shall be tried in State courts.

Originally, a citizen of one State could sue another State in the United States Courts, but the 11th amendment has forbidden this (see p. 293).

All other cases in law than those we have named belong to the State courts. These deal with all kinds of *criminal* cases, — murder, theft, burglary, forgery, bigamy, bribery, gambling, incendiarism, etc.; and all kinds of *civil* cases, such as those dealing with contracts, marriage and divorce, wills and inheritances, claims to property, collection of debts, etc. These are the principal subjects of lawsuits and they are attended to in the States.

An appeal may be taken, also, from the decision of a State court to the Supreme Court of the United States, or a case may at any time at the wish of one of the parties be transferred for trial from a State court to a United States court, provided the Constitution and laws of the United States apply to the case, or if State courts seek to make State authority prevail against national authority. The national courts have final authority and they are expected to stand for national power as against State power in all cases to which the Constitution and laws of the United States apply. That is, a national law that applies to a case prevails in that case against any State law, and whether a national law applies is to be decided by a national court. This prevents a clash of authority between State and national courts and the two authorities can work in harmony. They respect and follow one another's decisions. If a national court finds that only State law applies to a case, the national judge will always let the decision of the State court stand. National judges always respect the decisions of State judges on State law.

One of the most vital questions that ever arose in the growth of the American nation was: Who shall decide on the extent of the national powers under the Constitution? The Consti-

tution was hardly ten years old when this question arose. It came up in connection with the Alien and Sedition Acts (of 1798) which Congress had passed. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions which Madison and Jefferson wrote in opposition to those acts asserted that the Central Government was "not to be the judge of the extent of its own powers," but that (as in all cases of compact where there is no common judge) each State should decide for itself whether an act of Congress had violated the Constitution and, if so, what should be done about it.

Who shall decide on the extent of national powers?

This theory led later to nullification and finally to secession. It would have made a nation, with a real national government, impossible. Under it the States would have been sovereign and supreme. Who should be the "final judge" in saying whether an act of Congress is constitutional and binding was not specifically settled in the Constitution.

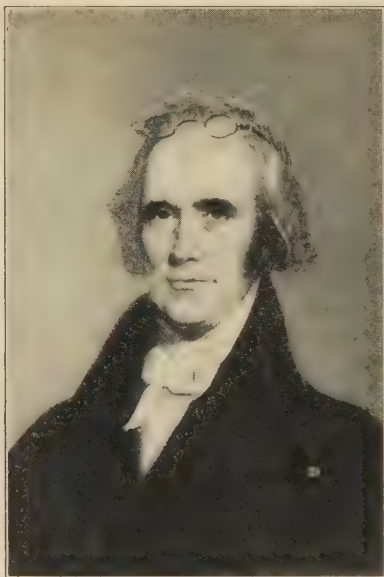
Chief Justice Marshall and the nationalizing decisions of the Supreme Court

There was a long controversy over it. But the *national* government finally became the judge of its own powers through the Supreme Court, which is one of the organs of the national government. This power came to the Court largely through its exercise by Chief Justice John Marshall in his notable decisions between 1801 and 1834. In these decisions Marshall did more than any other man in *nationalizing* America.

From the political point of view this power which Marshall exercised is the most important power of the Judiciary. It is the power to declare legislative acts unconstitutional, and, therefore, *null and void*. This power may be exercised by the national judiciary not only toward acts of Congress but also toward acts of State legislatures. It has become the law of the land and it is now accepted as the usage in America that the Supreme Court is the final and authoritative interpreter of the Constitution.

In America if two laws conflict not the later law but the higher law prevails; that is, the law of the United States Constitution, not the law of a legislature or of a State Constitution.

In America there are four kinds of law: (1) The Federal Constitution. (2) Federal statutes, that is, acts of Congress. (3) State constitutions. (4) State statutes, — that is, acts



JOHN MARSHALL

The exact words of John Marshall are often used today by Judges when they render decisions relating to Constitutional law.

John Marshall was born in Virginia in 1755. He served as a captain in the Continental Army. Later he was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Virginia. He was a Representative to Congress in 1799; then Secretary of State under President Adams, who appointed him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. For over thirty years he held this important position, during a period of our country's history when it was not only necessary that Constitutional questions should be decided correctly, but that the people of the United States should be convinced of the effectiveness of their new government. In all he rendered forty-four interpretations of the Constitution, which are famous. John Marshall was among the great men of America.

of State legislation. Cities, counties, towns, and other local bodies may pass rules, regulations, and ordinances in harmony with State laws. The constitutions, state or national,



are called fundamental laws; they are the foundation for and authorize *statute* laws, that is, the acts passed by Congress or the State legislatures. The judiciary must say what the law is and see to it that no State Constitution or act of a State legislature or of Congress is repugnant to the "supreme law of the land," which is the Constitution of the United States and the laws and treaties made in harmony therewith.

The Supreme Court has generally sought to avoid any attempt to settle political questions. There have been a few times, however, when some of its decisions have had a bearing on political issues. The Supreme Court and politics Whether the State or the Nation should be sovereign and supreme was a political question. Marshall's decisions had great weight in deciding this issue, though it required a civil war to settle it finally.

Shall Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? Shall Congress issue paper money (greenbacks) and make it legal tender? Shall Congress impose an income tax upon the States without regard to population? What shall be the policy of the National Government toward Georgia and the Indians within her border? These were political questions in their day and on certain acts touching these questions the Supreme Court gave decisions that offended many people. At such times the Court has been criticized and by some defied, and in later years (because of the great power of the Court to control the public policy of the country) there have been proposals for the popular election of the Federal judges and for the "recall of judicial decisions." This means that when the Supreme Court of a State or of the nation decides that the Constitution does not permit a certain policy to be enacted into law, the people may be allowed to interpret their Constitution and decide for themselves whether it authorizes such a policy. Lately it has been proposed that Congress shall be allowed to overrule the judgment of the Court in setting aside an act as null and void.

Recently the Supreme Court has set aside two acts of Congress, a minimum wage law for women and a child labor law. These laws were demanded by public opinion. Senators, Representatives, and the President, all of whom are sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, had sanctioned these laws. The majority of the Senate, of the House, the President, and *four* members of the Supreme Court all conscientiously believed these acts to be in harmony with the Constitution. Five members of the Court thought otherwise, and the laws were, therefore, vetoed by the Court and set aside as "null and void." One Justice could have changed the decision and the laws would have been allowed to stand.

Should one Justice on the Court have such power? Should a "five-to-four" decision be allowed to overthrow acts of Congress? Would it be well to require a unanimous decision of the Court, or a two thirds majority, to declare legislative acts null and void? These questions are being discussed now as they have been many times before.

There is no serious danger that the Supreme Court will fail to safeguard the interests of the people or attempt to make itself a despotic body, and it will always be influenced in some way by public opinion. It must depend upon the President to carry out its decisions, and Congress may by law change the court.

The Supreme Court has at times reversed its own decisions, once especially about the greenbacks after its membership had been increased. If Congress and the President should act together in opposition to the Court they could undo its work and bring about a reversal of its decisions. This could be done by increasing the number of the Court and permitting the President to appoint new Justices whose opinions might be known beforehand. This would be a dangerous thing to do. It would interfere with the independence of the Judiciary and no such attempt to control the court is ever likely to be made.

The Supreme Court, on the whole, has won the confidence of the people and so long as it is free from party bias and does

not mix in political disputes the people will be satisfied to look to it as the supreme arbiter in deciding the scope and meaning of the law and the Constitution.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by an *appellate* court?
2. When may a lawsuit be transferred from a State court to a Federal court?
3. Name the various kinds of courts of the United States.
4. Do you think it would be better if Federal Judges were elected by the people? Ought a Judge to have a long term of office? Why?
5. Why should a court be independent of Executive or Legislative control? Should a Judge in trying a case or giving a decision be influenced by what the people demand?
6. What kinds of cases may be tried in the national courts?
7. State briefly the constitutional doctrine expressed in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. What would have been the result if that doctrine had prevailed?
8. What is the result if Congress or a State legislature passes an act which violates the Constitution? Who is the final judge as to whether such an act really does violate the Constitution? What other "final judge" was once suggested? When and by whom? Was this matter clearly settled by the Constitution itself? What historical results came about from the controversy over it?
9. Explain John Marshall's influence in the growth of national powers.
10. What is a statute? Is it a "fundamental law"? Why?
11. Can the Supreme Court be controlled or overruled? How?
12. Do Congress and the President have to act in harmony with a decision of the Supreme Court?
13. It is reported that President Jackson once said: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Was this a lawful position for the President to take? Is the President bound to carry out the Supreme Court's decision? What is the remedy if he does not? President Lincoln refused to act in harmony with Chief Justice Taney's opinion in 1861 (Merryman Case). Can you justify Lincoln's conduct?

### REFERENCES

For further and advanced reading on the National Government the student may consult the following:

Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, Chapters XIII-XVII.

Haskin, Frederic J., *The American Government*, Chapters I. XXI, XXII.

Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*.

Kimball, Everett, *The Government of the United States*.

Young, James T., *The New American Government and its Work*.

Woodburn, James A., *The American Republic*.

Macy and Ganaway, *Comparative Free Government*.

Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics*.

Magruder, F. A., *American Government*.

Reed, Thomas H., *Form and Functions of American Government*.

Forman, S. E., *Advanced Civics*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

judiciary  
maritime

jōō dīsh'ī ā rī  
mār'ī tīm

belligerent  
incendiarism

bě hī'ēr ěnt  
īn sēn'dī ā rīz m

# PART IV

## CHAPTER XXI

### PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

In connection with the Government we need to notice the work of political parties. The Government is really managed by parties. These parties nominate and elect the officers ; and the party leaders in office or in conference determine the policies of the Government.

Parties, issues,  
and candidates :  
What is a party?

The Constitution does not mention parties. It takes no note of them. Its framers did not anticipate them. Parties have grown up apart from the Constitution and outside the laws. They were full grown and government was under their control before the laws began to take notice of them.

A political party is a voluntary association of citizens who agree in certain political beliefs and who are willing to act together to nominate candidates for President and Vice President and other offices. They seek to elect their candidates at the polls, and after that to pass laws and carry out policies. Anyone who wishes to help the party may join it, and anyone who is dissatisfied may withdraw from it at any time.

A *candidate* is one who is nominated for office, or who "runs" for office or who announces himself as desiring the office. In England, they say a candidate "stands" for office ; in America he "runs."

A *political issue* is a public question on which men take different sides. Shall we have a protective tariff? Shall immigration be prohibited? Should America enter a League of Nations? Should the Government own and control the railroads? These are examples of political issues. Men and women of both parties take

Political issues



different sides on these questions. Seldom is there a clear-cut issue between the parties, with all the members of one party on one side and all of the other party on the other side.

Only in a general way does a party consist of men and women who think alike on political issues and public questions, and who wish to promote the public interest by having the Government carry out certain principles and policies. That is the *theory* of parties. But, as a matter of fact, the members of one of the old parties are very seldom agreed among themselves on any

Divisions within  
parties



A DIRECT APPEAL TO VOTERS

A candidate for office often speaks in public in behalf of himself and of the party he represents.

present question, except that the party *in power* wants to *stay in* and the party out of power wants to *get in*. A party is likely to be divided within itself, especially when new issues come up.

Party unity is maintained sometimes by some overshadowing issue upon which all can unite; sometimes by a spirit of party loyalty and a common opposition to the other party; but sometimes these differences lead to a *split* in the party and two parties appear instead of one. A party so divided, with two candidates for President, is not likely to win against the other party united on only one candidate.

There are in our politics two major parties, or large parties, and there have been from time to time many minor parties, or *third parties*. We have had the "Anti-Masons," the "Liberty Party" and "Free Soilers" (forerunners of the Republican party), "Know-nothings," "Prohibitionists," "Greenbackers," "Populists," and many others. (See if your American histories will tell you something about these parties.) One of the most noted third parties of today is the Socialist party, which favors the ownership and control by the government of the agencies of production, communication, and transportation, — the forests, oil wells, mines, factories, telephones, telegraph, railroads, etc. The Farmer-Labor party is also a minor party at the present time.

Major parties and  
minor parties

The two large parties are the Democratic and the Republican. We shall not attempt here to tell the differences between these two parties. They change from time to time, and perhaps very few persons could agree as to what the differences are. Men and women belong to one party or the other from principle or tradition or habit, or because their fathers belonged, or because of the party name, or because of personal prejudices and dislike toward certain public men. Voters change from one party to the other frequently and in great numbers, because certain things occur or measures are passed which dissatisfy them. (Show this from the election returns of 1920.)

Yet in a general way, and especially at certain times in our history, there have been distinct differences between the two parties which have caused voters to join the one or the other. In the beginning of Washington's administration a fundamental difference of opinion arose as to the construction of the new Constitution. This difference gave rise to two parties. One party following Hamilton desired as liberal an interpretation as possible, that the powers of the Federal Government might be increased and those of the States re-

Beginning of  
American parties.  
The party plat-  
form

strained; the other party following Jefferson urged a stricter interpretation in order that the powers of the States might be better preserved. This original difference between our early parties has appeared at various times in our history, and it has influenced their attitude toward the various measures that have come up from time to time.

These differences are sometimes made clear in the platforms of the parties. The party *platform* is a declaration of principles and proposed policies. It reviews the record of the party and recites its achievements; it criticizes and condemns the other party and sets forth reasons why it would be unsafe to return it, or retain it, in power. The platform sets forth the promises of the party, — what it will do if it is put in power. Sometimes a platform is made “to get in on,” not to stand on, — that is, certain *planks*, or declarations, are placed in the platform merely to catch votes without any intention or expectation of carrying out the policies which it promises. Or, sometimes when there are two contending factions within a party, its platform will try to satisfy both factions by “facing both ways” or “carrying water on both shoulders,” and promising each faction what it wants. Of course, one faction or the other will be disappointed if the party comes into power. These false promises and “straddling planks” illustrate the kind of dishonesty that is practiced at times in the “game of politics.” The platform-makers sometimes have a very difficult and delicate task, to satisfy all elements in the party, to attract as many votes as possible, and to drive off from the party as few votes as possible.

Parties are organized for the purpose of nominating and electing men to office. This is *practical politics*, nominating candidates and carrying elections. To do this there must be organization, from one end of the country to the other. That is, there must be common sense *team work*; men who have the same end in view must coöperate and work together.

So each party has its *National Committee*, which is made up of one man from each State. The Territories and Island possessions are also represented on this Committee. These National Committee members were selected at the last national convention, each State delegation naming one.

The party in each State, also, has its State Committee, made up of one representative from each of the Congressional districts or from other divisions of the State. There are, also, county committees, city committees, township committees, and, it may be, school district committees and precinct committees. So there is "a network of committees" running from the national headquarters of the party down to all the voting precincts in the country, making quite an army of men and women who are ready to work for the party when an election year comes round.

This is the party organization. It is frequently called the party *machine*, because it works smoothly at the word of command from those in charge in support of the same candidates and policies, like the parts The machine of any other machine. If the party committee members in the various counties and precincts all act together in support of the same candidates it is difficult, if not hopeless, for an independent candidate to make much headway in securing a party nomination.

There are also party clubs of men and women who are interested in politics or in nominating candidates and carrying elections. These clubs become active just before the "primaries" and the elections. The men who give a large part, or all, of their time to organizing clubs, managing politics, going to conventions, nominating and electing men to office, are called "professional politicians."

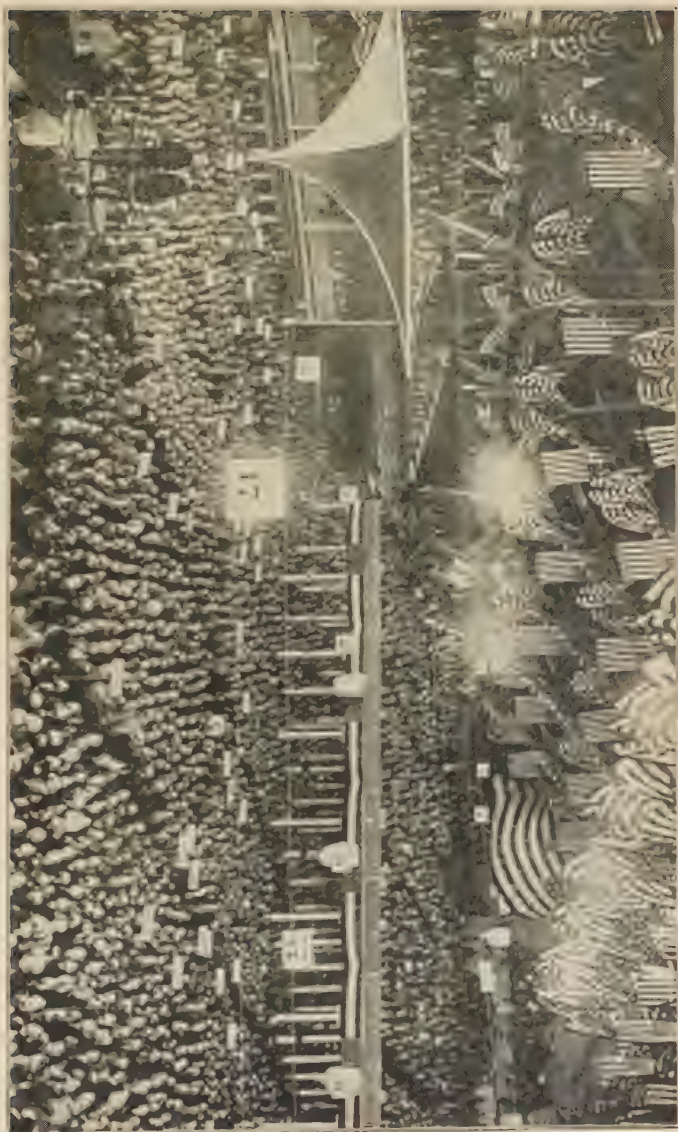
What is the difference between a politician and a statesman? Speaker Thomas B. Reed once said that "a statesman is a politician who is dead." What does this mean? Was Abraham Lincoln a politician? Was Thomas Jefferson? Theodore Roosevelt? Should

not all good citizens give attention to politics? How much time and attention should they be expected to give? Will not a man who cares and gives his time to politics count for ten times as much as one who does not care? Are those who complain of "rotten politics" to blame for the situation?

In early days candidates were nominated by a *caucus*. A group of like-minded men got together or held a meeting more or less private, and brought out a candidate. This was a *caucus*. Any group of men who meet together before a convention or a primary to agree upon some plan or candidate for them all to support is called a caucus. A *legislative caucus* is a meeting of the party members of a legislature (Congress or a State Assembly) to agree upon the legislative officers to be elected or on some policy or act for the party members in the legislature to support. *Nominating caucuses* apart from legislative bodies have gone out of use. Nominations of candidates to be voted for by the people are made either by delegate conventions or by primary elections.

A *delegate convention* is a body made up of representatives of the party, or delegates, representing certain groups or localities. This convention meets for the purpose of transacting party business. A *mass convention* is sometimes held which may be made up of all members of the party who care to attend. Obviously such a convention could be held only for a small area, like a voting precinct or a school district or a city ward. It is clear that all the party voters could not meet together in a national mass convention or in a State mass convention, or even in a city or county mass convention. So delegates are elected from precincts and wards to a city convention, from townships and precincts to a county convention, from counties to a State convention and from States and Congressional districts to a national convention. These delegates in convention adopt the party platforms, announce the party policies, and nominate the party candidates.





A DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION



A REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Of all these conventions the national nominating convention attracts the most attention. It announces the national principles and policies or the platform of the party and selects the person to be placed at the head of the nation. Each party holds a national convention every four years. It consists of delegates from all the States, each State having twice as many as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Republican party has lately reduced the number of delegates from some of the Southern States owing to the small number of Republican votes cast in those States in the election. The delegates to the national conventions are elected either by party State conventions or by party conventions in the Congressional districts or, as now in some of the States, by primary elections.

The national  
nominating con-  
vention

The national convention is still used for nominating the presidential ticket, the President and Vice President. But in many of the States, the candidates for United States Senator, for Governor and other State officers, for members of Congress in the Congressional districts and for the county and other local offices the nominations are made by a primary election. In this primary election which is held some months before the regular election, all the party members may take part. The primary plan was adopted to take the place of the convention, in order to give the masses of the party a fairer chance in making the nominations. It had come to be felt that the convention was controlled by a few "bosses," "wire-pullers," and political schemers and that nominations were made contrary to the desire of "the rank and file" of the party.

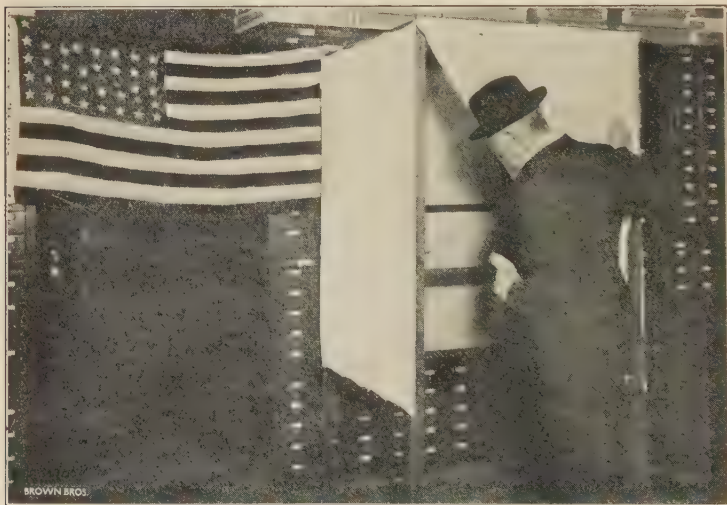
The primary

A *direct primary* is conducted in the same way as a regular election. The taxpayers bear the expense of it, though in some places the candidates are assessed \$10.00 or more apiece, to help bear this expense, a larger assessment being made for the more important offices. In order to be a candidate at the primary a man may publicly announce himself in the

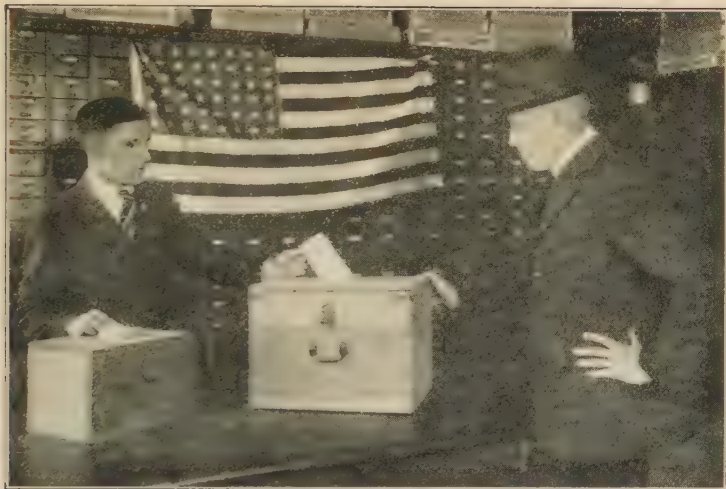




This CITIZEN HAS COME TO THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY TO VOTE. His name is already in the Register of Voters, because he has written it there on Registration Day, a few weeks earlier. Before he votes



he signs his name again in the book, or the Clerk of the Election Board may write it for him. He receives a ballot and takes it to a VOTING BOOTH. When he has placed an X opposite the names of his candidates.



He hands his folded ballot to an Inspector, who drops it into the **BALLOT BOX**, while the voter stands by. In some States the inspector detaches the stub from an end of the ballot and puts it into a separate box. In some



States, **VOTING MACHINES** are used. The names of all the candidates are printed on one big board. The voter goes into a booth and pulls a small lever underneath the name of each of his candidates.



local newspaper and by cards and placards. If a certain number of voters petition to have his name placed on the primary ballot, that may be done.

When a voter comes to the voting place at a primary he is given the ticket of the party to which he belongs, or the party ticket which he calls for. This contains the names of all the candidates who are seeking the party nominations. The voter goes into the booth and puts his cross mark opposite the names of the men or women whom he wants nominated. If there is a voting machine in his booth he pulls the corresponding lever.

The people do not vote for President and Vice President directly. They vote for Presidential Electors, each State choosing as many as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. Each party in each State nominates in its State convention a list of Presidential Electors and their names are placed on the State ticket. The people may choose one list or the other and it is not necessary to have the names of the Presidential candidates on the ballot. The Electors after they are elected by the people finally, by their votes which are sent to Washington, choose the President (see p. 300).

After the conventions, or primaries, have nominated the party candidates, the campaign begins. This is the contest for votes. It lasts three or four months, from July to November. In a presidential year it usually absorbs public attention. All sorts of ways and means are resorted to by party leaders, committees, and workers to influence public opinion and win votes. All kinds of party clubs are organized. Meetings and "rallies" are held. The candidates and public speakers go out to address these meetings. Advertisements and appealing editorials appear in the party newspapers. Campaign documents are printed and circulated by the millions, printed in the language of nearly every nation on earth. Thus foreign-born voters are appealed to. Party committees "poll the voters"; that is,

they try to get the names of all the voters by precincts; they write these names down in their poll books, and they try to find out how every voter intends to vote. They cannot always do this but sometimes their forecast of the election based on the "poll" is pretty accurate. The party workers try their best to unite the party, to instruct the party voters, to recruit new voters, to arouse enthusiasm, to discredit their



WHO IS TO BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT?

On election night crowds anxiously await returns.

opponents, and they leave no stone unturned to carry the election.

The presidential election occurs on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. At the same time many of the States elect their Governors and other officials, and United States Senators and Representatives in Congress are also elected.

The election:  
the ballots

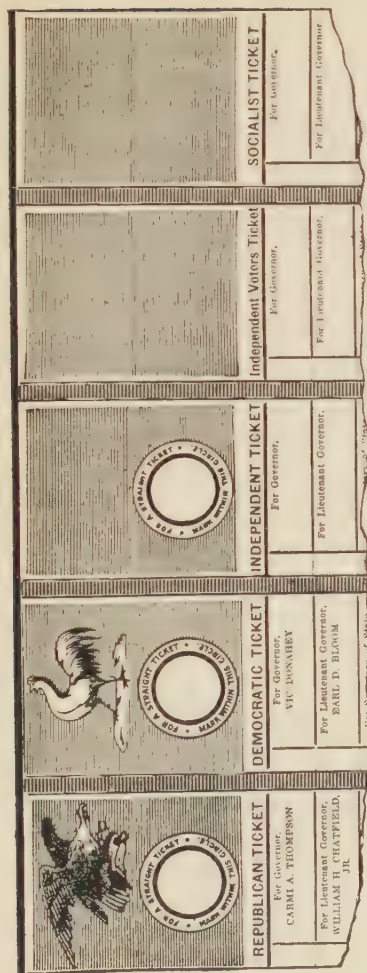
Under the Australian system of voting, which nearly all the States have now adopted, all ballots are printed at public expense. No ballot may be obtained until the voter appears on

election day before the election officers at the voting place. Each ballot contains the names of all candidates that have been nominated by any political party or group of citizens. The election officers endorse the ballot (they certify that it is the genuine ballot) by writing their names across the back of it. When the voter receives the ballot from the officers he goes into a booth alone where he may mark his ballot privately and free from suggestion or interference.

This system is an effort to safeguard the election from corruption. Formerly much money was used (election "boodle") to bribe the voters or to buy votes. This base practice is still pursued in some places. But if the  
**Reasons for secret voting**      briber cannot make sure that "the vote is delivered" the inducement to bribery is largely withdrawn. Formerly under the old open way of voting party managers furnished the ballots, and the man who wanted to buy votes could hand the voter the ballot which he wished to have him vote and he could see that he voted it. A man who will sell his vote cannot be trusted to vote as he is paid to vote. He might accept pay from both parties and then vote as he pleased when he went into the secret voting booth. So men will not pay for votes that they are not sure to get.

Also, if a laborer is threatened with discharge or a debtor with prosecution, or a renter with being put out of his house, if he does not vote as desired by those who have power over him, the election is not free. So the voters are now given a chance to vote secretly.

Some States by an "assistance clause" in their election laws allow the clerks on the election board to go into the  
**The assistance clause**      booth with any voter who says that he needs assistance in making out his ballot. By this provision it may be ascertained how a voter votes and the purpose of the Australian system may be partly defeated. The election clerks would violate their oath if they made known how such a voter voted but they sometimes do it anyway. Such low and lawless means are re-



#### AN OHIO BALLOT TO ELECT STATE OFFICERS, 1922

In this election the race was narrowed to two parties, because the Independent and the Socialist ticket did not nominate separate candidates.

The *Party Column Ballot*, which is shown here, is an ideal ballot for the staunch party member. You will notice that all the candidates for a certain party are listed under the party emblem. To vote a straight party ticket the voter needs to do no more than mark an "X" in the circle under his party emblem. In voting a split ticket this form of ballot is not so easy because the voter must mark an "X" at the left of each candidate for whom he votes.

The Party Column Ballot is used throughout the whole country for Presidential elections. In these elections, tickets are not split by the voters to such an extent as in local elections. Voters usually wish their own party to win, and therefore vote a straight party ticket.

The voter must be careful to mark all sections of his ballot properly, or it will be thrown out. If he votes for two candidates for the same office by placing an "X" to the left of both names instead of only one, his ballot is not counted.

If he desires, a voter may vote for persons not on the ballot by writing in their names.

sorted to in order to carry an election, and "dirty politics" are sometimes practiced by men who in other walks of life are fairly well behaved.

Clearly a voter who is blind, or one-armed, or disabled in some way, should have assistance in preparing his ballot. But should an able-bodied man who cannot read, or who is half drunk, or who may have sold his vote have such assistance? Isn't it better to let him lose his vote?

Present day parties are greatly divided. Parties usually have conflicts within their own ranks. Out of this condition new parties arise. It has been so in the past; it is

Present day  
parties: Radi-  
cals and  
Conservatives

likely to be so in the future. The divisions occur, usually, along the lines of *radicalism* and *conservatism*. The *radical* is dissatisfied with

things as they are; he looks more to the future, and he is ready to propose changes and reforms. The *conservative* looks more to the past; he wants to "hold fast to that which is good," and he does not go in for change until he is sure the change means improvement. The one is bolder, the other more cautious. At many times in our history we can see that parties have been torn to pieces by these conflicting elements, and there have been radical "third party" protests against abuses and prevailing conditions. Today the radicals of the West, especially among farmers and laborers, seem to be breaking away from old party lines. There is always a cause for these changes. Economic conditions touching the interests of large groups of people account for them. Either times are hard and the old parties have neglected the reforms and remedies that are necessary; or the people are restless and eager for new leadership and new ventures. To understand these changes in political parties one must strive to know not only present day politics but also something of party history.



## TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. An employer of 1600 men posted a notice on his factory doors that his factory would close if a certain candidate for President were elected. Was this fair? Were his men left free to vote as they pleased?

2. A landlord turned 500 men out of their homes which he owned because they had refused to vote as he wanted them to vote. What do you think of this?

3. Is bribing a voter like bribing a juryman in a trial? If the judge knew a juryman had been "tampered with" in this way would he allow the verdict to stand?

4. Suppose an umpire or a pitcher "sold out" in a baseball game or was bought to "give the game away." Would this be worse than buying votes on election day?

5. What policies does each of the present parties favor? To what party do your father and mother belong? Is that sufficient reason for your belonging to that party when you come to vote? What reasons can you give for belonging to that party?

6. What were the differences between the early parties under Washington?

7. What is the purpose of the party platform?

8. Describe the party organization, national, state, and local. Do you know any of the party committee men in your community? What is meant by the party "machine"?

9. Why was the *direct primary* adopted? Give some objections to it.

10. Describe a National Nominating Convention.

11. How is a political campaign conducted? Do you think it does more harm than good?

12. Why do the voters vote for Presidential Electors and not for President and Vice President directly?

## REFERENCES

1. Ray, P. O., *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics.*
2. Woodburn, James A., *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States.*

3. Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics*.
4. Woodburn, James A., and Moran, Thomas F., *The Citizen and the Republic*.
5. Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*.

These books will furnish many other references to books, valuable articles, and periodical literature.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

populists  
precinct

pöp'ũ lists  
prē'sĩnkt

caucus

kó'kűs

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE CITIZEN: HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

A citizen of a country is one who owes that country allegiance and is entitled to its protection. Citizenship is national and is determined by national laws. In the United States a citizen is also a citizen of his state, or county, or city, or of the local district in which he lives.

Definition of  
citizenship

Who are citizens of the United States according to the Constitution?

Leaving out a few who have been deprived of their citizenship on account of crime, all the inhabitants of the United States are divided into two groups: *aliens* and *citizens*. An *alien* is a foreign born resident of the country who has never given up his citizenship in the country from which he came. He has not been naturalized. A citizen of the United States is one who was born in the United States or who has been naturalized. We have seen in chapter thirteen, the steps an alien must take to become naturalized.

Only the Caucasians and Africans may be naturalized. No Mongolians or Malays, — Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, or East Indians, can become citizens of the United States unless they are born here or are permitted to be naturalized by a special act of Congress. We go to extremes in colors, taking in whites and blacks but keeping out the yellows and browns. Polygamists, anarchists, and certain other classes of criminals may not be

Certain races and  
classes may not be  
naturalized

naturalized; they are not considered worthy of our citizenship.

An alien living in the United States for travel, pleasure, or for business, is required to obey the laws of the country and is subject to taxation, and he is entitled to protection of life and property under the law. Nations agree by treaties to give this protection to one another's citizens.

To *expatriate* oneself is to renounce citizenship, to put oneself out of, or beyond the pale or protection of, one's country.

**Expatriation** This is always done by those who take on a new citizenship or become naturalized in another country. Not many Americans expatriate themselves, but many foreigners, millions of them, become naturalized in America. The doors generally swing inward, not outward. The immigrants are coming in; not many emigrants leave America for the Old World. Formerly some countries denied to their citizens the right to transfer their citizenship and allegiance. Before the War of 1812 Great Britain said, "Once an Englishman always an Englishman." That is, citizenship was indelible, it could not be erased. England refused to recognize the naturalization of her citizens in America, and the impressment of them into her naval service (and she sometimes impressed native Americans) became partly the cause of the War of 1812. Now Great Britain and all progressive countries recognize by treaties with other countries the right of expatriation.

Children are citizens as well as grown-ups, if they were born in America or if their parents have been naturalized.

**Citizenship of children** Children follow the condition of the parents. A child born of American parents while they are temporarily living abroad is an American citizen; but if the child continues to live in a foreign country he must choose when he becomes of age in which country he will have his citizenship.

Until lately, if a foreign born woman married an American citizen, by that act she became an American citizen. The law provided that a woman had the citizenship of her husband. If an alien man became naturalized, that naturalized his wife.

Citizenship of  
woman

If an American woman married an alien she lost her citizenship and became an alien, too. Many women who have lately been enfranchised did not like this and made an effort to change the law and allow a woman to be as independent in her citizenship as a man. A law to this effect was passed by Congress late in 1922.

When the United States acquires territory, the treaty of purchase usually provides that all the people living in the new territory shall be citizens of the United States.

This was done in the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, of Florida in 1819, of California and

Citizenship by  
transfer of terri-  
tory

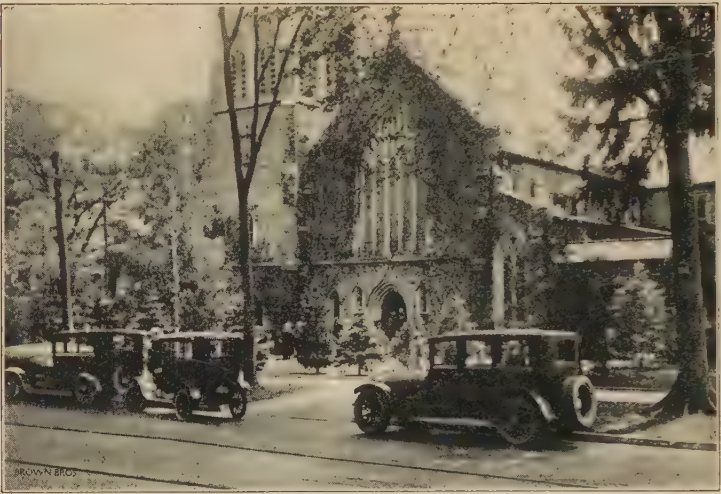
the Mexican cessions in 1848, of Alaska in 1867. But when Porto Rico and the Philippines were acquired by treaty after the Spanish American War in 1898, the inhabitants of those islands were not made citizens by the treaty of acquisition. An act of Congress was necessary to make these people citizens of the United States. This was done for the Porto Ricans in 1917, but it has not yet been done for the Filipinos. These Islands are not *a part* of the United States, but *possessions* of the United States and their people are *subjects*, not citizens, of the United States. The provisions of the Constitution do not apply to them. It was for this reason that some people called our acquisition of the Philippines "imperialism."

Men were citizens of the States (or colonies) before they were citizens of the United States. Most of their rights to life, liberty, and property, were guaranteed by their States, and they must still look to the States for the protection of these rights

The rights of  
citizens

(see pp. 258-259). The United States Government, soon after it was made by the people of the States in 1787, promised that





“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” People may attend whatever CHURCH they wish, for Article 1, Amendment of the Constitution, assures religious freedom to all. And an American’s home is rightly his castle, for Article 4, Amendment, asserts his security in his home, his papers, his effects, against



unreasonable searches and seizures. “Congress shall make no law abridging the FREEDOM OF SPEECH or of the press.” Election campaigns could not be carried on without this law. Article 1, Amendment.



A well regulated MILITIA being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Article 2, Amendment. "In all criminal proceedings, the accused shall



enjoy the right to a speedy and PUBLIC TRIAL, by an impartial Jury . . . to be confronted with witnesses against him, and to have the assistance of Counsel for his defence." Article 6, Amendment.

it would not interfere with these rights, and that it would also protect the people in the enjoyment of them. This promise or guarantee may be found in the "bill of rights" contained in the first eight amendments to the United States Constitution. This bill of rights was in the English constitution and it had been already put into the State constitutions. Some of the States were afraid that the new central government of the United States might violate or disregard these rights, and they wished to be assured that these old rights for which their fathers had struggled in the old country would be respected by their new central government. Therefore Congress was prohibited (like the State legislatures) from interfering with the rights of the people :

(a) To enjoy religious freedom.

Guarantees of the Constitution (b) To enjoy freedom of speech and the press.

(c) To assemble peaceably and make known their wants by resolution or petition.

(d) To have a militia, with arms in defense of their homes and their State.

Other rights guaranteed :

(a) No soldier in time of peace shall be quartered in any home without the owner's consent, nor in time of war, except by law.

(b) No man nor his home shall be searched nor his goods seized without good cause or reason, and only then by process of law.

(c) No person shall be put on trial for a crime, except by indictment of a grand jury ; nor shall he "be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb" for the same offense.

(d) No citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

(e) Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

(f) An accused citizen shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury in the district where

the crime was committed. He shall have the right to know of what he is accused and to be confronted by the witnesses against him. Witnesses who have evidence to prove his innocence may be compelled to testify in his favor. He is entitled in his jury trial to have a lawyer for his defense. While under arrest excessive bail shall not be demanded, and if he is convicted no cruel or excessive punishment shall be inflicted upon him.

Read carefully the Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

Thus, great safeguards are provided to protect the individual and against convicting an innocent man of a crime, on the principle that it is better that nine guilty persons should escape than that one innocent person should be convicted.

Such are the rights and civil liberties of the people which no autocrat nor judge nor army nor mob nor President may ever lawfully or rightfully take away. No government shall ever interfere with them. These rights existed before the Constitution was formed and they were put into that document as a further safeguard against any despotic or arbitrary government. Both the United States Government in its Constitution and the State Governments in their constitutions are prohibited from interfering with these rights.

The United States Constitution also guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the rights of citizens in other States. That is, if a citizen of New York moves to Illinois he is entitled <sup>Interstate citizenship</sup> there to all the rights which Illinois gives to its own citizens. So one may move into any State and have the rights of citizenship there.

Citizens are protected by the Constitution against *ex post facto laws* and *bills of attainder*. "No bill of <sup>Ex post facto laws and bills of</sup> attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed." (Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9). An *ex post* <sup>attainder</sup> *facto* law is one which makes a man's act a crime, and



punishable, which was not a crime when it was committed. If a man has not violated any law it is hardly fair to make a law and punish him for what he has already done. No one could ever feel safe under such procedure.

A *bill of attainder* is a bill passed by a legislature condemning a person to punishment without a legal trial. If a citizen is to be condemned it must be done according to law; no law can be passed for the purpose of punishing him. He must be tried by the courts, not by the legislature. Formerly, attainder followed conviction for treason and carried the forfeiture of all civil rights, especially the right to have, inherit, or bequeath property. The children of the person *attainted* might suffer the same penalty. This was held to be a relic of tyranny, and our Constitution provided that "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted."

A citizen is entitled to the writ of *habeas corpus*. This right has come down from English history. If a person is arrested and held in prison, he may apply  
**Habeas corpus** through a friend or an attorney, to the judge of a court who issues an order or writ, ordering the sheriff or constable to bring the prisoner into court in order that it may be learned whether or not there is good reason for keeping him in prison. If it appears that the person has not been guilty of violating any law, the judge orders his release and thus justice is "not denied nor delayed." If it appears that the prisoner may be guilty of some crime, the judge may order him held for trial, or release him "on bail," — that is, on a money guarantee by some friend of the prisoner that he will appear for trial. If the prisoner should "jump bail," and run off and could not be found when his time for trial came, the person who had gone "on his bond" would have to pay the amount of the bail.

The object of the writ of *habeas corpus* is to prevent an innocent person from being held in prison any length of time without a fair hearing. Formerly this was done by despotic



governments which exercised arbitrary power and practiced injustice and oppression. The writ is now regarded as one of the "muniments of civil liberty." It may be suspended in time of war or public danger, when military power supersedes the civil power. At such a time many men might be guilty of disloyalty or spying or riot, or obstructing the laws. Military action is quick, while civil trials are slow. The arrest and civil trial of so many men might block the civil courts and much harm might be done before the regular courts could operate to suppress opposition to the government and restore order. So the more drastic military method of restraining men may be necessary, and therefore a citizen may be arrested without a warrant and held in custody without a trial. This may be dangerous to liberty, but it may be necessary in times of war and public danger. It is like parting with our liberty for a while in order to enjoy it forever.

Give some account of President Lincoln's suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* during the Civil War.

Is it the President's place to do this or does this power belong to Congress? What may be said for each view?

Under these rights a citizen is free to go where he pleases and do as he likes, provided he does not violate any law nor interfere with the rights of others. He may say what he pleases, if he does not incite others to crime nor use profane, vulgar, and indecent language. Since the Civil War no man may be held in slavery. He may acquire property and use this property as he pleases, subject to the law. He may sell it, bequeath it, or give it away to others. He may make contracts (if he is of sound mind) and appeal to the courts to have his contracts enforced. He may choose his trade or profession and work at it freely, provided his work is legitimate.

The States protect the citizen in these rights, though the United States Government will protect his rights to life, liberty, or property on the high seas, or in foreign countries,

through diplomatic agencies. The National Government guarantees the citizen's right to use our navigable rivers, to come to the seat of Government, to use the national ports, and to become a citizen of any other State.

Think of conditions under which citizens may not exercise their civil rights.

City police sometimes break up street meetings or meetings in public halls. By what right is this done? Does it not violate the right of "free speech" and "free assembly"?

Of what was Eugene V. Debs convicted during the World War? Did he violate a law? Has the Government a right to deny to its citizens freedom of speech during a war? If a citizen's speech is calculated to encourage soldiers to desert or to encourage citizens to resist the draft, why has the Government a right to prevent that kind of public speaking? What was done about this during the Civil War?

Think of conditions under which a citizen may not come and go freely or use his own property as he will.

May a man build a slaughterhouse or a powder mill in town? May he go in and out of his own home, if it is under quarantine? Why?

If a man's civil rights conflict with the public welfare which shall give way? Under what conditions may a citizen be deprived of his civil rights?

Under the right of *eminent domain* a citizen's property may be taken from him without his consent, but not without fair compensation. The public — city, county, State, or Nation — may wish to build a road through certain land, or a public building at a certain place; the public interest comes first, and if the owner refuses to sell his property the government "condemns" it. A fair value is fixed for the property by a disinterested board or commission of citizens, and it may then be taken over at that price for public use. In such cases the owner of the property generally receives full value, or more.

A voter is one who helps to elect the officers of the government or who expresses at the ballot box his opinion on public questions when opportunity offers. Voting occurs chiefly

when officers are to be elected, but at times questions are submitted to the people for their decision, on which the voters may vote "Yes" or "No." This happens when a constitutional amendment is submitted to the people for adoption or rejection, or when a measure is referred to the people by a *referendum*. The privilege of voting is called *suffrage*.

Voting and the  
suffrage

The State has always determined who shall vote. All that the United States Constitution said about the matter at first was that whoever was allowed to vote by any State for the most numerous house of the State legislature may vote for members of Congress and for President and Vice President. Later the 14th amendment provided that if any State denied the right to vote to any of its male citizens who were 21 years of age for any other reason than crime, the representation of that State in Congress

Qualifications for  
the suffrage

The fourteenth  
amendment

and the Electoral College should be reduced accordingly. This was urged to encourage the Southern States to permit negro suffrage; otherwise they would have to submit to a large reduction of their votes in Congress and in electing the President and Vice President. The Southern States refused to accept this provision. Then Congress itself imposed negro suffrage upon the South by the Reconstruction Acts, which set up new State governments there. The newly reconstructed governments were required to provide in their constitutions for the voting of the negroes before these States could be readmitted to the Union.

The fifteenth  
amendment

Then the 15th amendment was passed which provided that no citizen of the United States should be denied the right to vote by any State or by the United States "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." This made the negroes voters in the Northern States as they had already been made voters in the Southern States by the Reconstruction Acts (see p. 294).

The 19th amendment provides that citizens of the United

States shall not be denied the right to vote on account of sex. This gives the suffrage to the women of all the States. A number of the States had already conferred this privilege upon women.

The nineteenth amendment :  
woman suffrage

The States still control the suffrage, except that they cannot deny the voting privilege on account of race or sex. They can impose an educational test, as Connecticut does ; or require a poll tax, as many States do ; or require voters to register, as most of the States do. They could allow boys and girls of 18 to vote, or not permit any one to vote until he is 25.

Restrictions on  
the suffrage

The 13th amendment (adopted 1865) put an end to slavery in the United States or any place subject to its jurisdiction. Thus, when the Civil War ended, slavery ended also. The 14th amendment (adopted 1868) declared the negro a citizen, leaving it to the states to say whether or not they would permit the negroes to vote ; but if any state refused to provide for negro suffrage, it was to suffer a reduction of representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College. The 15th amendment (adopted 1870, after state constitutions requiring negro suffrage had been imposed upon the Southern States by the Reconstruction Acts of Congress) provided that no citizen of the United States should be denied the right to vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." This provided, by national authority, for "manhood suffrage," that is, for men citizens of all races and colors. The mass of the negroes just out of bondage were not prepared for the suffrage, and these two war amendments (the 14th and 15th) have not been fully carried into effect in some of the states, nor has Congress sought to require their full execution. (See pp. 293, 294.)

Should restrictions on the suffrage apply to all men and women alike?

Voting is not a right, but a privilege. It is conferred by the State upon those who are thought fit to exercise it. The

American people have been very generous in conferring this privilege. They have looked upon it as belonging to all free persons, not because of their property, or color, or sex, or creed, but because every free-man should have a voice in his own government. A freeman is one whose will is free and who can act for himself. Every intelligent member of the community who has a will of his own and who is free to vote as he wishes should have a vote. Children are yet dependent and are not under their own control; they are not allowed to vote till they become 21 years of age, as some arbitrary age has to be fixed. All our States have fixed on twenty-one.

Voting is a privilege and a duty

The demented, the insane, the idiot, the intoxicated, the convicts should not be allowed to vote because they are not free, — they are not under their own control.

Aliens should not be allowed to vote because voting is an act of membership in the State, and aliens owe no allegiance to the country and have no responsibility for it. If they are allowed to vote they might cast their ballots in the interest of their home country, with which America might be at war. Yet a few of the States admit to the suffrage aliens who have not completed their naturalization, and many of whom never expect to complete it.

Are those who are bribed or coerced in elections freemen? Should their votes be counted? Should persons elected by voters who are bought be allowed to hold office?

Would you have an educational qualification for the suffrage? Why?

What can be said for a property qualification?

If a poor man with no property has one vote would it be right to give a professional man, or a man with much property, three or four votes? Why not?

Is a man's vote like a piece of property? May he sell it or do what he pleases with it? Or not use it at all? Should a citizen be compelled to vote? Give reasons for your answer.

We shall here speak only of the general duties of the citizen. He is confronted by his civic duties on every side, in all walks



of life, in every community of which he is a member. We speak elsewhere of these specific duties in connection with these community activities. Here it will be sufficient to speak of the sense of duty that should rest upon all citizens everywhere.

**Duties of the citizen**

To whatever community a citizen belongs it is his duty to try to improve it, to make it a better place in which to live, to enable the community to render better service to its people. It is his duty to try to know something of the needs of the community and its management; to know its public officers and their duties; to be ready to place the interest of the community above the interest of any party or class or selfish group. He ought to be willing to take some pains and trouble in order that the community may be well governed. As he thinks of his city, State, and country he ought to try to know something of their history, of the great men and women who have rendered distinguished service to their communities, and of the principles and services for which they have stood. Whatever the community may be to which one belongs, be it township, village, city, State, or nation, both his self-interest and his sense of obligation should prompt him to be willing to render some service and sacrifice for the common good. Opportunities for doing this will be seen in many ways as we study the various phases, needs, and problems of our community life.

When one is elected to office and takes up its duties, he takes an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

**Loyalty to the city**

When a foreigner becomes a citizen of the United States he is required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States Government.

Our native born citizens, young and old, take no specific vow of devotion to their country. It is well for school children to salute the flag of the Republic and say:

I solemnly promise to perform the duties of my American citizenship to the best of my knowledge and ability. I pledge alle-

giance to my Flag, and to the Republic for which it stands ; one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

As we think of our duty to the city, whose honest and efficient administration means so much to us, we should be ready to take the oath which was administered to the youth of Athens more than 2000 years ago :

We will never bring disgrace to this our city, by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many.

We will revere and obey the city's laws and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul or set them at naught ; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty.

Thus in all these ways we will transmit this city not only not less, but greater than it was transmitted to us.

Suppose this oath were posted in American homes and schools and above the desks of Mayors and City Officers in every City Hall ! Suppose the essence of it were in the heart of every citizen !

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Is it a citizen's duty to help the officers enforce the law ? How can he do this ? Is it his duty to give information to the officers about violations of the law ?

2. Does a citizen owe allegiance to the State and also to the United States ? Have these two allegiances ever come into conflict ? In case of conflict which must give way ? Show how the two allegiances may exist side by side without conflict.

3. What is the difference between a citizen and a voter ? Do all citizens vote ? Are all voters citizens ? Explain.

4. Is the suffrage too widely extended ? If so, how would you limit it ?

5. What authority determines the qualification of voters ? What restrictions are placed on this authority by the United States Constitution ?

6. Explain how the writ of *habeas corpus* works. When and why may it be suspended?

7. How would you like to carry on a primary election for candidates for school offices? Why not plan to do it as the law of your State provides?

### REFERENCES

1. Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, Chapter I.
2. Ray, P. O., *Introduction to Political Parties*, pp. 231-272, on Suffrage and Elections.
3. Fuller, Robert H., *Government by the People*.
4. Hinsdale, B. A., *The American Government*.
5. Woodburn, James A., *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, pp. 321-378.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

Caucasian	kô kâ'shăn	expatriate	ěks pā'trī āt
Mongolian	môn gō'li ān	jeopardy	jěp'ar dī
imperialism	īm pě'rī āl īz m	muniments	mū'nī mēntz
attainder	ā tăn'dēr	habeas	hă'bē as
coerced	kô ūrst'		

## CHAPTER XXIII

### IDEALS OF THE NATION

A nation should have its ideals. These are the principles on which it is founded, or the goal toward which it is striving. These ideals help us to struggle against evils and strive to live up to what we profess. What are some of these national ideals in which America professes to believe?

1. *Liberty*. Our people have been a liberty-loving people. The founders of America came across the sea for a larger freedom, to escape the restriction and oppression in the old world. Many of those who have come since have fled from hard burdens and tyranny imposed by oppressive governments. They had heard of America as the *land of the free*, where the people could make a better living and manage their own affairs in their own way, under laws of their own making. It was not to be a land of license where every one was to be allowed to do as he pleased to the injury of himself and others; but it was to be a land freer than any they had known, with a better chance to get on in the world. "Give me liberty or give me death" was the popular slogan of Patrick Henry, announced in the early days of the American Revolution. The "Liberty Bell" of 1776 was rung to "proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." Our Constitution was made to guarantee free religion, free speech, free press, free labor, free assembly, free ballot, free men. America wishes all men to have the largest possible liberty consistent with the public welfare.

While holding to these ideals how could the American people permit slavery to exist? When was slavery introduced into America? When was it abolished? Can you tell what is meant by

*economic* slavery? Is there any "involuntary servitude" in America now? What is peonage? Are men compelled to "work out" debts in America? Is every man in America free to work or loaf just as he chooses? Would that be right? Is a man free to drink what he chooses? or build his house as he chooses? or employ whom he chooses? Why?

2. *Unity*. Along with liberty comes union: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." This was the plea of Webster when he spoke against dis-union. This union came by a hard struggle. It was brought about by necessity. The people of the States united because they saw that by union was the only way to secure the blessings of liberty, to preserve order, and to become a great nation. They wanted to save their land from being "rent with civil feuds or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood." They wanted to keep the peace in America; they wanted *concord*, not *discord*, among the States. They sought a *concert* or an *association* of the States, and they therefore formed a *league* which afterwards grew into a united nation. After the Union was formed there were so many conflicting interests, so many elements of division and dis-union, that it seemed the unity of the nation would be destroyed. The Civil War decided, however, that the territory of the United States should not be divided into two or more countries, or two or more confederacies. There should be *one land* from sea to sea, *one union*, *one flag*, *one national allegiance*, and *one national government*.

Now we have to ask ourselves, Can this unity be preserved amid so many races and nationalities? We have seen that nearly every nation in Europe is represented in our population, — English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, French, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Roumanians, Russians, Armenians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Finns, Jews from many lands, some Chinese, Japanese, Turks, and with more than 300,000 American Indians and more than 10,000,000 negroes. What a conglomeration! Can there be unity among so many dif-





**“Let us have Faith that  
Right makes Might and in  
that Faith Let us to the end  
Dare to Do our Duty as we  
understand it.”**

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

## Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburg

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

ferent peoples? Our ideal is to *Americanize* all these races and weld them together into one nation, standing for one country under one loyalty. See the "Melting Pot," pp. 219, 220.

How was the American Union first made? Was it made all at once, or did it grow? How was it "saved"? Can you name some economic influences that helped to promote union among the States? What tended to divide the Union? What are the benefits of the Union?

What did Webster say about the Union? If the South had succeeded in the Civil War would conditions have been as peaceful in America as they have been? Can you tell what it would mean to "Balkanize" America?

How is national unity now threatened in America? What can be done to preserve unity?

3. Another ideal is that of *self-government*. It is often called *democracy*, the right of the people to set up a government for themselves, — "a government of the people, for the people, by the people." Under **Democracy** this government all are to have equal rights "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." All are to have equally a voice in the government, regardless of religion, race, color, sex, or "previous condition of servitude," and *the majority shall rule*. This was not so in 1787, because at that time very few of the people could vote, perhaps not one in twenty. But since then we have grown toward a larger democracy.

Under this democratic government, the law is not to give some men special favors nor to put handicaps on others. "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none," — a fair field and no favors, — this is the maxim of democracy. Government comes from the people, not by the grace of some favored hereditary class, like kings and nobles. The powers of government are to be exercised *for the benefit of the people*, to protect the people in their right to their property, their homes, their liberty, and their lives. If a government fails to do this and begins to oppress the people and to rob them of their property and their liberties, then it is the right and duty of the

people to overthrow that government, not to permit anarchy, but to set up a new government which will do what a government ought to do. This right of a free people is called the "right of revolution." It is not to be resorted to for "light and transient reasons," but for weighty reasons it may be. Our fathers in America resorted to this right in 1776, and again



ILLINOIS STATE LEGISLATURE

Article I of the Constitution guarantees the "right of the people peaceably to assemble." Free assembly and free discussion are necessary to self-government.

in 1787 they changed their form of government in a way that was not provided in their Constitution. Such is the ideal of *democracy*.

"All men are created equal." Where does this language appear? In what sense is it true?

Do all men have equal opportunities in America? Can you name some ways in which they do not?

In what ways does America come short of her *ideal of democracy*? Can you show how America has grown more democratic since 1787?

What is meant by the "right of revolution"?

Do you think that all men have an "equal right" to hold office, the fit and the unfit? Is it a part of democracy to choose unfit men for office? Do more unfit men get into office under a democracy? Is it better for a man to govern himself and make mistakes than to be saved from mistakes by having some one else control him? Why? Tell what you understand by democracy.

4. *Universal Education* is another ideal in America. Vast sums of money are spent for this purpose. Free common schools are established in all the States, in order that the poorest boy and girl in all the land may have some opportunity to go to school. High schools, colleges, and universities are supported by self-taxation. America believes that if the people are to govern themselves they must be informed and intelligent; if they live in ignorance they will cease to be free. Universal education is for the purpose of making efficient citizens, fit to govern themselves in a free state. Education

America has so far fallen far short of the ideal, as there are yet very many illiterate men and women in our citizenship. But there is much improvement over the past, and our public schools are gradually improving the situation. The people may be destroyed for lack of knowledge; so the free schools and a free press should give all a chance to know the principles underlying our Government, how it is conducted, and how it is to be preserved. Only as the people come to understand the value and the benefits of the Government will they be ready to pay for it, to live for it, or to die for it.

5. Another ideal of America is *world peace*. "Peace and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." This was a principle in our early history announced by Washington and Jefferson. "No entangling alliances" does not mean that America is unwilling to act in concert with other nations to promote the peace of the world. It means



that she would not join one rival alliance against another, creating special attachments and arousing special antipathies. But she would be friendly alike with all nations, coöperating with all for the sake of peace.

One of America's ideals in the World War was to end war, to bring the nations into concert, and to teach the military



STATE EDUCATION BUILDING AT ALBANY, NEW YORK

In the United States, schools are not limited to any race, sex, or age. Self-improvement through education is within the reach of all. In this building are located the offices of the State Board of Education of New York.

imperial powers of the world that wars of aggression and conquest must cease. President Wilson sought to bring about a "league of nations" as a means of preserving the peace of the world. President Harding spoke for an "association of nations" for the same purpose. The idea is that if nations have conflicting interests, or if they disagree, they shall *confer together*, or submit their differences to arbitration, or to an international court, and have these differences settled justly



WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE

**"MY FIRST WISH IS  
TO SEE THIS PLAGUE OF  
MANKIND, WAR, BANISHED  
FROM THE EARTH."**

according to principles of law. Privately men are not allowed to settle their differences by fighting on the streets or by killing one another in a neighborhood feud. The law provides a way to settle such disputes, and the man of violence who starts to "shoot up" the neighborhood is restrained and brought into court and is placed where he can do no harm.

It should be so among nations. The outlaw among nations that wants to go upon the warpath to kill or conquer its neighbor nations must be restrained by some association of nations or by some world court whose power is sufficient to compel respect and obedience. This is America's ideal, to bring about international peace and security; to induce nations not to resort to war; to establish open, just, and honorable relations between nations; to substitute reason for brute force in the settlement of international disputes; and to introduce conferences, laws, and courts among nations.

A beginning has already been made in this direction. This is the purpose of the International Court of Justice of which an American is a member; of the League of Nations, formed after the World War with more than fifty powers enrolled; and of the Washington Conference called by President Harding in 1921. The purpose of all of these movements is to avoid war, which always means the destruction of the wealth and happiness and lives of men. America's desire is to create wealth and to preserve it; to save human lives and to work for the betterment of mankind. Our ideal is not to keep America in isolation, apart from all other nations; but it is to bring her into concert and conference with her neighbor nations in order to avoid discord and strife. It is to promote a *world community of nations*, in which each nation may be allowed peacefully to pursue its own way and to live its own life unmolested and unafraid. This is the ideal toward which America will continue to strive.

President Coolidge, who has come to his high office by the sad death of President Harding, has spoken of this ideal of world peace as follows:

"When we have secured victory we must seek peace through justice. I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts this country, in common with all nations, would be willing and able to uphold. The decision of this court or the recommendation of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality."

President Coolidge, like Washington and Lincoln, wishes to achieve the ideal of "a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by an ideal? Emerson said, "Hitch your wagon to a star." What does that mean?
2. Why is education necessary in a democracy?
3. What is meant by the terms "American" and "Americanize"?
4. What was done in the late Washington Conference toward disarmament? What can you learn about the "four power treaty"? See your textbook on American history.
5. How much does a first class big battleship cost? How long will it last? Which is more valuable and helpful to mankind, a college or a "dreadnaught"? Why? Name some of the beneficial things which you think the country could do with the cost of ten battleships. Could we safely dispense with all of our battleships at the present time?
6. What should be America's policy toward the other nations of the world? Do you believe in "isolation"?
7. What do you understand by a "peaceful world community"?
8. Write 300 words on the evils of war.
9. What do you think ought to be done to prevent war?
10. When is war justifiable?
11. Commit to memory the preamble of the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

### REFERENCES

1. Adams, E. D., *Ideals in American History*.
2. Roosevelt, Theodore, *American Ideals*.

3. Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*.

4. Read in Long's *American Patriotic Prose*: "Washington's Farewell Address," p. 105; John Quincy Adams's "The Mission of America," p. 149; Daniel Webster's "Reply to Hayne," pp. 155, 158; Charles W. Eliot's "What Americans Believe In," p. 361; Henry van Dyke's "The Americanism of Washington," p. 135; Theodore Roosevelt's "True Americanism," p. 270.

5. Charles Evans Hughes: Address at the Limitation of Armament Conference, in Boardman's *Modern American Speeches*.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

confederacies

côn fěd'ěr a sĭz

isolation

ī sô lă'shŭn



## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE CITY COMMUNITY

One of the wonders of American history has been the growth of cities. When Washington became President only about four per cent of the people of America lived in cities. Now more than one half of them live in towns and cities of 2500 or more. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island about nine tenths of the people live in cities. In 1789 there were only six cities in America with a population as much as 8000. Now there are over 600 such cities. George Washington never saw a city of 40,000 people. He and Jefferson were "country gentlemen" who managed great farms or plantations.

The growth of cities

Then America was almost entirely an agricultural country. Now it is largely a manufacturing and business community. By the census of 1920 the twelve largest cities in America had the following populations, in round numbers :

The twelve largest cities in America

New York	5,620,000
Chicago	2,700,000
Philadelphia	1,800,000
Detroit	994,000
Cleveland	797,000
St. Louis	773,000
Boston	748,000
Baltimore	733,000
Pittsburgh	588,000
Los Angeles	576,000
Buffalo	506,775
San Francisco	506,676

What has caused these cities to grow and become so populous? Why have they risen just where they are?

In the last hundred years this growth of cities has gone on all over the world. It will be noticed from your geography, that these great cities are seaports, or are on some important waterways for commerce and transportation. They are located usually at some point where a "break in transportation" occurs, where

**Causes of the  
growth of cities**



FREE SHOWER BATH

In congested parts of some big cities, the Fire Department sets up sprays attached to the fire hydrants. This helps to make the children cool and healthy.

goods must be changed from land routes to water routes, or *vice versa*. There great elevators and warehouses must be provided for storage; stockyards exist for meat shipments; labor must be supplied for loading and unloading; many railroads lead to these centers, with their shops and workmen.

Another reason for the growth of the city is the growth of great factories and the use of machinery, following the *age of*

*invention*. Hundreds of thousands of workmen find employment in the city factories where shipping facilities are good and where the raw materials and the food products of the surrounding country may readily be obtained. Pittsburgh at the head of river navigation is also a center of coal and iron supplies. Cleveland can get the iron ore for her steel factories from the lake regions, with cheap freight in lake schooners. St. Louis is favorably located on the Mississippi and on the route of transcontinental trade.

Give reasons for the growth of other cities.

Thus the cities have become great centers of banking and commerce, of transportation facilities, of manufacturing and shipping. They have become great *terminals* for many new steam and electric railways. All these things have promoted city growth and the demand for city workers. Thousands of young boys and girls who grow up in the country or in small towns, go to the cities to find employment; or families move from the country to the city, where they expect to find better schools, larger churches, better theaters, and more amusements and more conveniences.

Learn, if you can, by the census of 1920, whether rural counties in your State declined in population between 1910 and 1920. If so, how do you account for it? What does it indicate and what problem does it present?

Think of all the things a great city has to attend to.

It must provide for the *education* of the children. Every child in the city should be given an opportunity to attend a free public school (see Chapter III).

It must safeguard the *health* of the people. It must, therefore, furnish a good sewerage system and provide for disposing of the garbage. It must afford for the homes a good, pure water supply, and see that the food for the people is not adulterated, and that the milk which the children need is sweet and wholesome (see Chapter VI).

Problems of the  
city

It must provide a *system of parks and playgrounds* for rest and recreation (see pp. 102-106).

The city must regulate the *street traffic* and keep the streets from being overcrowded and congested, and it must make the streets, sidewalks, and crossings as free from danger as possible.

It must provide a *system of fire protection*, which involves the constant employment of companies of professional fire fighters, equipped with all the machinery of preventing and



PUBLIC TENNIS COURTS, CLEVELAND, OHIO

fighting fires. It may, therefore, prevent the use of fireworks and the storage of inflammable materials except under proper safeguards (see pp. 134-140).

The city must keep the streets, bridges, and sidewalks clean and in repair. For this, hundreds of street cleaners in the large cities are constantly employed.

The city must maintain a *police system* for the protection of lives and property, and for the convenience and assistance of citizens and strangers (see pp. 129-134).

It must provide for lighting the city and must see to it

that homes are supplied with gas and electricity for cooking and lighting.

Also, the city provides for communicating by telephone, and it or the State regulates telephone rates.

The people in a city must be able to get about quickly from place to place. Therefore the city must provide a system of *transportation and rapid transit*.

The city has to wrestle, more than the country, with the *problem of poverty*, and as most of the immigrants are massed in the cities, the people of the city have to grapple with the problem of teaching these immigrants, in day school and night school, of "Americanizing" them and preparing them for citizenship.

In addition to all these great problems and business enterprises which a city must manage, the city *must be governed*. Law and order must be maintained, the courts must be kept open, justice administered between man and man, criminals must be arrested and restrained and crime prevented, so far as possible. A system of city taxation must be devised, and a budget system arranged for all city receipts and expenditures; and with the public money the betterment and welfare of the community must be promoted in all ways by which a city government can make itself helpful.

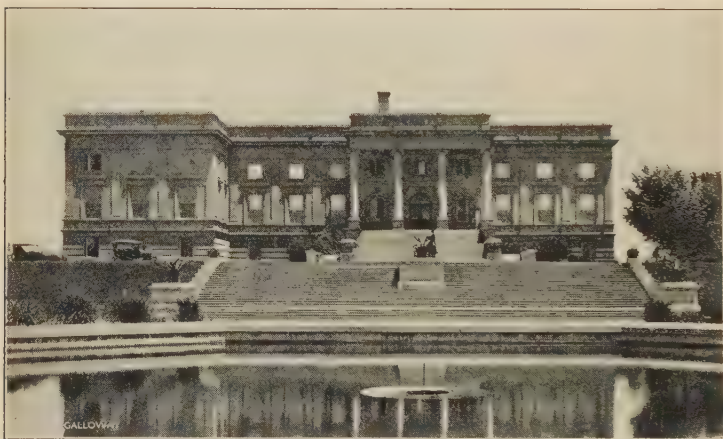
Does it not seem from all this that a city has enough to do? Is it not clear that a city is a great community within itself and that its good government and management are as important as are the affairs of State or Nation? Many of these city problems have been discussed in other parts of this book. Others deserve special attention in this chapter on the *city community*.

In many cities the street cleaning is attended to by men in white uniforms. They are called "white wings." Street sprinklers are used, and then follow large wagons with revolving brushes which sweep the dust and dirt into the gutters, and there the "white winged" street cleaners with brooms and carts and dustpans gather up the rubbish to be carried to the dump heap or off to the country to be used as fertilizer.



Keeping a city clean involves also the collection and disposal of garbage and rubbish from the houses and restaurants and hotels. Garbage is waste matter, the leavings from kitchens and dining rooms, which, if left exposed, will decay and cause discomfort and sickness. In a crowded city the individual householder cannot dispose of this material. There is not room. There must be coöperation to dispose of

The problem of  
street-cleaning:  
garbage and  
rubbish



MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, DENVER, COLORADO

Painting, sculpture, and natural history exhibits are a means of recreation and education which many cities provide.

it, under some city plan. There may be a licensed garbage collector who is paid by each householder. The city may make a contract with a garbage-collecting firm and meet the expenses out of the city taxes. Or the city may employ garbage collectors directly and have the city wagons go from house to house at regular intervals. It is the business of the householder to have well covered garbage cans put in street or alley at points convenient for the collectors.

Ashes from the stoves and furnaces, and rubbish such as old tin cans and papers, should not be mixed with the garbage.

When those who collect this rubbish sort it over they find some of it useful, while much they have to haul to some dump pile to be burned or buried.

### CLEAN-UP-WEEK

Many American cities have established an annual "Clean-Up-Week," inaugurated by a parade of the Street Cleaning Department. Wagons carrying advertising signs urge the householder and the man in the street to do his part in keeping the city clean and tidy.

Here are some more of the "catchy" signs.

### LET US WORK TOGETHER

#### FOR A CITY THAT IS

Beautiful

Healthful

Decent

Orderly

Safe

#### DON'T LITTER THE STREETS.

It is your Street in your City.

Keep it as clean as you do your room in your house.

PUT OUT YOUR RUBBISH EVERY DAY

THIS WAGON WILL COME AND TAKE IT AWAY.

Much of the garbage can be used as fertilizer or for feeding hogs, while fats may be extracted from it for cheap oils and soaps. For these reasons garbage removal may often be arranged for by the city without much expense to the city itself or to the housekeepers.

How many city problems, or enterprises, can you name offhand? Which are the easier and which the harder to attend to? Is it really the business of the city government to attend to so many things? Would it be better to leave more to be done by private enterprise and private agencies? What evils might arise from doing so? Are the streets and alleys kept clean in your city? If not, why not?

How is the garbage problem met in your community?

Lighting a city and furnishing electricity and gas for cooking in the homes are public enterprises. A householder cannot furnish these necessities for himself; they can be provided only through community coöperation. Telephone systems and water systems belong to this class of public enterprise. Some cities own and control their own gas and electric service, or own their own water systems. Usually, however, the city grants a charter to a private corporation which agrees to supply under certain conditions gas, electricity, or water to business houses and homes and the city buildings. These corporations, though privately owned, render a public service, and they receive from the public certain privileges, such as the use of the streets, alleys, and highways, and they are therefore called *public service corporations*. For each of these public services there should be one company in the city. It is not desirable to have two or three companies tearing up the streets and erecting their poles. From the nature of the business there cannot be any competition that would be profitable either to the private companies or to the public. So the business of these public service corporations is called a *natural* monopoly.

One of the most important of these public utilities is that of providing for transportation. Getting about from place to

place is one of the big problems of city life. The whole city has to give attention to it. Every one wants to reach the "down town" sections, or the business districts of the city. There the people crowd together in a small area, for both living and business. They live, or do business, underground in cellars and base-

Cities and  
public utilities

City transporta-  
tion; getting  
about the city

ments; or far up in the air in tall "skyscrapers," thirty or forty stories high. They pack the block solidly with buildings, forty or fifty persons living in a single tenement house, 1000 persons to the acre, 300,000 persons to the square mile. To avoid this crowding and congestion and to enable the people to live far out in the suburbs, or in suburban towns, and still do business down town, there must be provided quick and cheap means of getting to and from their homes to their stores and shops and offices.

At first cities used street cars drawn by horses. Next came the cars that were drawn by underground cables, which were especially useful in cities that had steep hills leading to their residence sections, such as Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and San Francisco. Later, in 1884, came the electric car, which has in large measure displaced the horse and cable car. .

To these methods of transporting people on surface tracks, many cities have added the motor bus, and the very large cities have provided underground and elevated tracks. Over all these tracks in the "rush hours," morning and evening, thousands of passengers are transported to and from their business places and their homes every day. There are electric "locals" that stop frequently, and "express trains" that carry passengers many miles almost as rapidly as steam trains move in the country. Steam trains, too, in frequent runs and at cheap rates, carry passengers ("commuters") from their business to their homes in suburban towns.

This system of cheap and easy transportation has made possible the growth of our great cities and business centers.

The cities, of course, have to regulate this transportation traffic, to see to it that the companies fulfill their obligations, and that the passengers are given safe, efficient, and satisfactory service. It is often agreed in the companies' charters that a good percentage of the revenue from this traffic is paid into the city treasury in return for the use of the city streets. Often city parks are maintained from these revenues. The more people go to

City revenues  
from transporta-  
tion companies



Every city must keep house. Just as a housewife cleans and brightens her home, and tries to keep her children healthy and happy, so a city works in its much larger household. WELL LIGHTED STREETS are a city's pride. Accidents are less likely to occur and criminals cannot successfully ply their trades in a city whose budget provides amply for adequate street lights. An expenditure of taxes for this purpose is regarded by tax-payers



as a good investment. Similarly, street car service is both a pride and a problem. It must be dependable and not expensive. Here is the Public Square at Cleveland, Ohio, the heart of the city's TRANSPORTATION





SYSTEM. Sidewalks and **STREETS** must be kept in good condition. In more recent years concrete roads, such as we see in this picture, have come into more general use in cities and towns. Such improvements are a mark of distinction and progress, and very often indicate a city's prosperity. The drinking water supply must be carefully guarded by a city if epidemics of disease are to be avoided. One system of keeping the water



pure is to aërate it, that is, to **THROW IT UP IN THE AIR** in jets, after which it passes through clean sand into the delivery pipes that take it into homes, offices, and factories.

the parks the more money comes into the treasuries of the street car companies.

Cities are usually governed under a charter which is granted by the State legislature. Some States will give a city charter to a population of 1000; others require 5000, or 8000 or 10,000 before the city form of government is granted.

The cities in a State are usually divided into classes according to their size. In Pennsylvania, for instance, cities of 1,000,000 or over are in the first class, those of 125,000 to 1,000,000 are in the second class, those from 10,000 to 125,000 are in the third class. The legislature passes laws for each class according to its needs. The constitution of a State may require all laws of the legislature to be of uniform application throughout the State, but it may allow cities to be classified according to their size and needs. In this way legislation may apply to a few of the largest cities and not to others. Philadelphia is the only city of Pennsylvania of its class of 1,000,000 population. So the legislature may regulate the affairs of Philadelphia without interfering in the affairs of any other city in the State. Very large cities have special needs.

It is a question how much a State ought to interfere in governing a city. Should a city not be allowed to adopt a charter for itself in its own way? In recent years many students of city government have advocated more "home rule" for cities. Why should State laws determine what the city may do, what officers it must have, and what their duties are, or how the city taxes shall be raised and how its business shall be conducted? Are the people of the city not able to govern themselves in these matters? In the legislature there are many country members who know very little about the special problems of the city, nor do they care very much. The interests of the large city, how it should raise its taxes, or manage its schools and police systems, or regulate its extensive public utilities (its lighting companies, its street car

#### Classes of cities

#### Home rule for cities

lines, subways and elevated tracks) can hardly be intelligently cared for by rural legislators who know little of these problems from actual experience. At times the State has imposed heavy financial burdens on the city which the people of the city would not approve, as when Pennsylvania required the city of Philadelphia to build a \$20,000,000 city hall. The State legislature of New York had to be consulted and its permission obtained when the City of New York wished to construct an elevated railway, an enterprise, like many others, which concerns the city alone and which the city alone had to pay for.

So in recent years, in some States, constitutional amendments or the State laws have provided that cities may be allowed, if they choose, to draw up their own charters and submit them to the people of the city for adoption by popular vote. These charters provide that in local affairs or in matters of purely city interest, the management of the city shall be taken out of the hands of the legislature and be put into the hands of the people of the city. The city is to decide on its own form of government, on its own improvements, on raising and expending its own city taxes in its own way. The State is not to interfere in matters of purely local concern. It is provided, however, that nothing in these charters shall conflict with the constitution and laws of the State.

This "home rule for cities" does not mean that a city shall be independent of the State, nor do anything in disregard to the common laws and welfare of the State. The city is not to be allowed to permit crime nor neglect the public health, nor license evil practices which the State may wish to prohibit. In matters relating to certain forms of taxes, to elections, to poverty, immorality, crime, and disease, the city is still to coöperate with the State and act as an agency in carrying out state policies and State laws. The whole State is a unit and all the people of the State are much concerned as to how the cities are governed; whether their elections are honestly conducted; whether they harbor criminals and foster

vice. Since the cities send representatives to the State legislature, other parts of the State are interested in the prevention of election frauds in a city, and in preventing crooks and grafters from getting control of city politics.

The form of a city's government and its powers are usually defined in its charter. Nearly all cities in the United States are governed by a mayor and a council. This is the "orthodox" way. In a few cities the council is divided into two bodies, like the two houses of a legislature; but usually the council is a single body. The two-house system was more common in earlier days, but now only about twenty cities in America retain this system, chiefly in New England.

The councilmen, or aldermen, are usually elected one from each city ward, but some members of the council may be elected, like the mayor, from the city at large.

**Forms of city government**

This is better, since all the councilmen legislate on affairs of the whole city and not merely on the business of a single ward. To provide for representation of all parts of the city the councilmen might be nominated from wards but elected by the whole city. The terms of councilmen vary in different cities, from one to four years.

The council makes the city laws, called ordinances. It passes on the appointments of the mayor. It levies the city taxes, creates city departments, and provides for such matters as the health, street traffic, garbage disposal, city lighting, parks, and amusements.

It is the mayor's duty to see that the city laws are obeyed. He appoints the heads of departments and certain other officers sometimes subject to the approval of the

**The city council**  
**The mayor**  
 council. The mayor may remove these officers when he chooses. He presides over the meeting of the council, and in many cities the mayor is given the power to veto the ordinances of the council, which may become law only by another majority vote of the council, or in some cities a larger vote than a bare majority may be required to overcome the mayor's veto.

The mayor also holds a mayor's court to try offenders who may violate city ordinances or who may be arrested by the police for petty crimes.

Under the mayor-council form of government the people also elect certain other officers, such as a City Clerk, a City Treasurer, a City Judge. The Clerk keeps the records of the city and the Treasurer keeps the funds. The City Judge (elected only in cities of considerable size) tries offenders against the law. Other city officers

The work of the city government is carried on by departments, or boards, such as we have already described, namely the health, finance, public works, fire, police, etc. The Board of Education is in some cities elected by the city council, in some by a separate vote of the people, and frequently this Board may act independently of the rest of the city government and it may as a "school city" levy taxes for its own needs. City boards

This mayor-council form of city government would do well — any form of city government would do well — if the citizens and the officers always did their duty. But it often happens in a large city that several wards elect corrupt aldermen, who then, as members of the council, have power to legislate for the whole city. Party managers and "bosses" control ward politics and get their "heelers" or agents into the city council, who seek to control the city appointments and departments for personal and party purposes. These ward politicians use their party machinery to get the "spoils of office" for private gain. Defects of city government

Sometimes the mayor may be of one party and the majority of the city council of the other, and they then proceed to "play politics." The council might pass an ordinance desired by the people which the mayor disliked; he might veto it, and if it be passed over his veto he might neglect to enforce it.

Often there is divided responsibility, and when things go wrong the ordinary citizen cannot find out whose fault it is. If the garbage and ashes are not removed each week and the



housewife complains to the board of public works she may be told that the mayor has ordered removal every two weeks. When the citizen householder complains to the mayor he may say that the city council has not provided the necessary funds. Forty or fifty councilmen are too many to see. So abuses are tolerated, and city money is wasted, by providing favorites and party workers with jobs that require no work, and the city streets and city affairs are neglected.

Some years ago such abuses and defects were not uncommon in American cities, when James Bryce said that "the government of cities is the most conspicuous failure of the United States." Things are not so bad today. They are much more hopeful. The people of our cities can correct evils and govern themselves well when they try to, when they become aroused and give their attention to the business. These abuses and defects have led to a demand for reform. New methods of city government are being tried.

Many cities are now trying the *commission form* of city government. This first came about in Galveston, Texas, after the great hurricane and tidal wave in 1901 had nearly destroyed that city. Some citizens of Galveston were disgusted with their city government, and they were convinced that it could not meet the needs of the situation. Their city government had been corrupt and wasteful and it could not now get credit and borrow money to build up the places which the waves had laid waste. These public-spirited citizens and business men went to the State legislature and asked that body to set aside the old form of city government and put the powers that had been exercised by the mayor and council and other officers into the hands of a commission of five men.

This new Galveston charter of 1903 provided for the election by the people of the city, every two years, of five commissioners, two to be elected one year and three the next, all to be chosen, not by wards, but by the city at large.

One of these commissioners, — the one receiving the high-

est vote when three are elected — acts as the mayor. That is, he acts as president of the commission, and has a general supervision over the affairs of the city, but he has no veto nor any more power than his colleagues.

There are four administrative departments of the city: (1) Finance and revenue; (2) Water and sewerage; (3) Police and fire protection; (4) Streets and public property. Each commissioner acts as a super-  
Departments  
 visor of one of these departments. Thus, each officer is the business manager of an important branch of the city's business. Important appointments, such as of expert engineers and business heads, are made by the whole commission, but minor appointments may be made by the commissioner in whose department the work lies. The commission may remove these experts and subordinates when it is found necessary or desirable.

The commission levies the city taxes and passes such ordinances as it thinks the city needs. Thus, the business of law making and law enforcing are combined in one body and the citizens can know very readily who is responsible for the kind of government the city has.

This commission plan of city government worked so well in Galveston that it was taken up by other cities, in Texas and out. Des Moines, Iowa, was the next to  
Spread of the  
commission plan:  
the Des Moines  
plan  
 adopt it, in 1907. This city added some new features. Under the Galveston plan the commissioners have almost unlimited power.

If they do something the people do not like or fail to do something the people want, there is no remedy until the next election comes around. The Des Moines plan provides for a more democratic control by introducing the initiative and referendum, protest, and recall, and nominations by a non-partisan primary.

By the *initiative* a certain percentage of the voters may, by petition, require the commission to submit an ordinance to the voters for approval which the petitioners would like to have passed.

By the *protest* and *referendum* the voting petitioners may compel the commission to submit to all the voters for approval any ordinance which the commission desires to pass but which the petitioners oppose. If a certain number of the citizens *protest*, the proposed ordinance must be submitted to a vote of the people. If the majority of the voters vote against the ordinance it is defeated. No public utility franchise can be valid until confirmed by the majority of the voters.

By the *recall* the voters may remove any of the commissioners at a special election, which must be held if the recall petition contains the required percentage of the voters in the city.

Thus, the initiative enables the people to put a law through; the referendum enables them to kill a law which they dislike; and the recall enables them to control their city officers.

The people may make mistakes in using the initiative and referendum, and good men may object to taking office if they are to be in constant fear of being "recalled" in the midst of their term while trying to do their duty. But in spite of some false movements and the abuse of these agencies by politicians for spiteful or selfish ends, these provisions have, on the whole, worked very well, and the many cities that have since adopted the commission plan of government have preferred to use these new features. As time has gone by, the initiative, referendum, and recall have not been used very frequently, but they have served, like the policeman's club or the gun behind the door, to be brought into use in time of an emergency. They enable the people to keep the final power in their own hands.

In one respect the Des Moines plan has not been an improvement over the Galveston plan. In Galveston the commissioners gave only a part of their time to the city service; the city's business and activities required experts and special managers, who were appointed and removable by the commission. In Des Moines the commissioners are expected to give all their time to the city. It is difficult, if not impossible, to get the

Experimenting in  
city government

Galveston and  
Des Moines plans  
compared

best men in the community to give up their private business and give their whole time to city affairs. It is also difficult to get experts, like engineers and managers of water works, good business men, to go into politics and run for a city office. The consequence is that in some cities where the Des Moines plan has been followed political workers and second rate men have been chosen to the commission and the affairs of the city have not been attended to in the best way. The people may remedy this by a more active interest in their candidates and in city politics.

As one great flood brought reform to Galveston, so did another bring reform in city government to Dayton, Ohio. The high waters in 1913 devastated much of the Miami River valley and the city of Dayton suffered greatly. The people of Dayton adopted for themselves a self-governing charter, as they were allowed to do under the laws of Ohio. They then adopted what is known as the "city-manager plan" of city government, sometimes called the "commission-manager plan." This plan had been tried in Staunton, Virginia, and in Sumter, South Carolina.

The people of Dayton elect a commission, as in Galveston or Des Moines, but the Dayton commission (of five members elected for four years) places the business of the city in the hands of one person who is an expert business manager. The plan regards the city as a business corporation and the citizens as stockholders. These citizen stockholders elect a board of directors (the commission) and these directors appoint a foreman or business manager to manage the city's business, just as the directors of a bank choose a cashier to care for the business of the bank. The manager is chosen, not because of religion, politics, or "pull," but because he is an experienced professional who knows the business of managing a city's affairs. The manager may be a citizen of the city, but he is likely to be brought in from some other city where he has had experience in city management.

The city manager  
plan

The manager becomes responsible for the honest and efficient conduct of the city's various departments of government. He enforces the ordinances, advises the commission as to the needs of the city, prepares the city budget, investigates and corrects abuses, and appoints and dismisses the city employees, or heads of departments, usually under some civil service test of fitness.

This gives a single head to the city and any one may know whom to blame if things go wrong. The manager is responsible to the commission and he may be removed by that body, while the people retain control over their city affairs and can govern its policies by means of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

The city managers have been able to save their cities large amounts of money and the plan has worked so well that by 1922 nearly 200 American cities had adopted it. These are mostly small cities, but among them are such large cities as Akron, Ohio (208,000), Norfolk, Virginia (115,000), Sacramento, California (65,000). On January 1, 1924, Cleveland, Ohio, a first-class city, will begin operations with a city manager. It will be interesting to see how the plan will work in so large a place. It must always be remembered that no plan is proof against evils and abuses, if the people become indifferent and lose interest in the conduct of their affairs. Eternal vigilance is the price of good government. It is claimed that by almost every city which has tried this plan better service for the money has been obtained and that better planning for the future can be made.

The result of the city-manager plan in Dubuque, Iowa, was that after the first year there was a city surplus of \$30,000

Result of an  
experiment

contrasted with a deficit of \$60,000 inherited from the mayor-council administration.

Within the first ten days the city manager saved the city \$30,000 by cutting out useless positions. A modern system of accounting was installed. The city's debt was put on a stable basis. There was a debt of \$270,000 for



a city hall built in 1871 and no provision had been made for a "sinking fund," *i.e.* a debt-paying fund. Delinquent taxes were collected, \$155,000 being received in two months. An experienced man was brought in as fire chief, from Nashville, Tennessee, who introduced modern methods. Fire drills had been unknown. Fire apparatus was never used except at a fire. As a result, the people of Dubuque saved in fire losses the entire amount of their city taxes for a year, and their payments for fire insurance were reduced. This has been only a short experience, but the improvement has been marked (see the *World's Work* for Sept., 1922 on "Government by City Managers").

What are the objections to electing councilmen by wards?

Will the people take less interest in their city affairs under the city-manager plan? Will the average citizen be more disposed to "let George do it"? Will there be more of an oligarchy and less of a democracy in city government?

May citizens of a community safely place the responsibility for their good government on some one else?

Why is it important to be able to fix the responsibility for failures and abuses? Point out the relation of this to the large governing body or the two-chambered council in a city.

What do you think of the working of the initiative and referendum and the recall in city government?

Why are *forms* of city government of any importance?

In 1790 New York was the capital of the United States. It was then decided that for ten years the capital should be at Philadelphia but after 1800 the capital should be in a city to be built on the banks of the Potomac. Planning a capital It was to be called Washington. At that time there was no city there at all. A French engineer, Major L'Enfant, was engaged to lay out the plans for the new city. The streets were laid out running east and west and north and south, intersecting at right angles, after the usual checker-board plan. Then long avenues were provided running on the diagonal, like spokes from the hub of a wheel. These avenues radiated from the wonderful Capitol Building which

was to be the center of the city. Where these avenues intersected the streets, "circles," or little parks were made, which added open spaces and beauty to the city.

On this plan America's capital city has developed from a small town of wooden buildings on the banks of the Potomac into a city of nearly half a million people. It is today a "city of magnificent distances" and it is one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

Very few cities are planned and developed in this way. Our cities have grown from commercial and manufacturing reasons. Men cannot always tell beforehand where great cities are going to rise. Many of our early cities "just grew," like Topsy, without any plan. They branched out in ways and directions which men could not always foresee. Their streets, therefore, became irregular and crooked, as if they were following cow paths. Early Boston grew up somewhat in this way. In the old cities in the East, and in most of our new ones in the West, no one thought of planning the city before it was built. Their growth has been largely haphazard.

The natural growth of cities  
Most cities are laid out in *squares*, or rectangular blocks, and houses are numbered 100 to the block from some central street on a plan which Philadelphia first started. This makes it easy to get around and find any address. If you know a family lives at 1843 North Walnut Street you know that it is in the 18th block north of the central dividing street running through the city east and west. Number 2580 East Washington Street may be found 25 blocks from the central street running north and south.

To the foreign traveler American cities seem much the same. They are monotonous, with too few curves in the streets, with no artistic plans or unique features. All "main streets" are alike. How can this be remedied? How could your city become noted for some unique attraction peculiar to itself?

Much attention is now being given to planning for the growth of towns and cities. One reason is the matter of

convenience. The new parts of a city should be made easily accessible. The business parts of town should be easily reached and it should not take too long to get from one place to another.

Reasons for community planning

The health of the community is also to be considered. If buildings are placed on the back parts of the lots facing alleys and narrow passageways they shut out light and air. Dark alleys and streets that are too narrow, and crowded tumble-down shacks should be prevented. After a city grows, its narrow streets, which might serve a small country town, become too congested for its traffic.

Swampy places should be drained and if a stream runs through the town it should be kept free from pollution and its banks should be kept free from weeds, dumps, and garbage piles. These banks, instead of being allowed to be waste and ugly places, can be turned into places of rest and beauty.

To make the town a "city beautiful" is another object in planning. Avenues and boulevards with their artistic curves can be laid out. Grass plots may be made and flowers planted between the driveways of wide boulevards. Certain low parts of the town that are not good for business or building sites may be turned into little parks and playgrounds.

Making the "City Beautiful"

Certain sections may be reserved as residence districts, and there stores and business houses are not allowed. Unless provision is made in the deeds to the lots throughout a whole new section of a city that the lots shall be used only for residence purposes,

Residence sections

it is difficult to prevent little grocery stores or eating houses or public garages from being placed in residence sections and thus destroying the beauty and plan of the neighborhood. In this age of the telephone and the motor truck, orders may be sent for goods and the goods delivered from long distances, and the beautiful residence neighborhoods may be saved from being spoiled by the inroads of commerce.

To *zone* a city is to divide it into districts or neighborhoods (zones) in which certain things are allowed and certain other things are not allowed. About 27 per cent

#### City Zoning

of the city people of the United States now live in zoned cities, by which their homes are protected from the intrusion of garages, stores, warehouses, factories, and other buildings which tend to cheapen the value of residence property. This is done by a kind of neighborly agreement by which is determined the uses for which structures shall be built. By the zoning plan certain districts are set aside for residences, others for apartment houses, others for office buildings, others for manufacturing plants, etc. Provision is made for growth and expansion, but the builder of a garage or factory or grocery store, is not allowed to erect it within a residential neighborhood, regardless of the annoyance and money losses that may be caused.

New York City has been zoned since 1916. Of the fifty largest cities in the country twenty-two have zoning ordinances. Other cities, large and small, are rapidly following this practice. In 1922 twelve places of 5000 population or less were added to the list.

Avenues of beautiful trees may be planted and cultivated. The "slums" may be cleaned out and good architecture may be encouraged in the building of homes. The railway stations may be made attractive by grass plots and flowers. Monuments and fountains, and stately public buildings and attractive theaters and opera houses may be erected that will add dignity and charm to a city.

If such a public spirit of enterprise and planning exists and if the city keeps its streets and alleys clean and if citizens keep their houses in order and their lawns and yards cleaned and cut, the people may have a "city beautiful" which they will be proud to have strangers visit.

A city without zoning has been compared to "a house in which the bookcase is in the bathroom and the kitchen stove in the parlor." Do you think this is a good comparison? Why?

It has been said that hundreds of millions of dollars are lost every year by property owners in American cities from lack of zoning. Can you explain why this is so?

How should cities plan for their growth?

See if you can get information on good zoning laws for your city by writing to the Division of Building and Housing, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. This Department issues a *Zoning Primer*.

Some of our great cities are now planning to undergo great expense to make themselves beautiful and attractive. Commissions are appointed to study the city's needs. Landscape artists and city builders are employed to lay out plans for future growth.

**"The City  
Beautiful"**

Daniel H. Burnham was one of these great city builders. Burnham was born in Henderson, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1846. He grew up in Chicago amid rough and pioneer ways of city life. No one has surpassed him in planning and creating the "city beautiful." He believed that every city should have a plan tending toward beauty, health, and convenience. Burnham was sought for such work by communities all over the country. He planned the marvelous "White City" of the World's Fair of 1893, which greatly stimulated the beautifying of cities in America.

The people of our cities have come to see that mere money making, mere dollars and cents are not the chief consideration in life. The city is to be not merely a place for workshops and trading houses and machinery and smokestacks, but a place where people can be comfortable and live in pleasant surroundings. Even factories and shops are being made attractive and pleasant places in which to work. Smoke nuisances are being abated and the screeches of noisy and ear-splitting whistles are being prevented. The banks of rivers are being beautified; water fronts are being redeemed from factories and turned into attractive resorts. The wonderful lake front in Chicago, instead of being given up to railway tracks, freight cars, and puffing and noisy engines, is to be turned into fine beaches, parkways, and drives. Chicago has started a general plan of beautification and development which will make it one of the most delightful cities in the world.

The authorities in State and Nation, in cities and univer-



sities are coming to appreciate the importance of planning their public buildings with some sense of symmetry and harmony. Public buildings have been too often planned and placed at haphazard. Ground should be obtained and laid out and each building should be placed with reference to others that may come later to form a group that all may go together with a good artistic effect.

All this is in response to the love of the beautiful, which is natural in man. As a pioneer people, conquering the wilderness and becoming established in life, we may have neglected too much the artistic and the beautiful. But after our cities have become established and wealthy their people are willing to plan and pay for the beautiful in life, even at a great price. A quarter of a century ago a noted writer wrote a book on "The Shame of our Cities." Soon it will be time for some one to write of "The Glory of American Cities."

#### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the Des Moines plan improved on the Galveston plan for city government by commission? Why?
2. Debate the question whether your city should adopt the city manager plan for its government.
3. Are there any abuses in your city government? How can they be remedied?
4. What is being done to beautify your city? Have you any plans to suggest for city improvement? Have you a commission on city planning? Are school children offered prizes for beautifying their gardens and yards? Are the alleys in your city kept clean and free from weeds?
5. When was your city first laid out? What was the plan of it? Are extensions and improvements now planned? Are places of business encroaching on residence sections? Is this desirable? How can it be prevented?

#### SAFETY CAMPAIGNS: SAFE-GUARDING LIFE AND LIMB

After 240 persons had been killed in Detroit by careless drivers, joy riders, and speeders, a campaign for safety began. Nearly half of such fatal accidents were prevented in one year.

The slogan was "Coöperation." There was coöperation between the police department, the automobile club, the board of education, the newspapers and picture shows, the Detroit Safety Council, and the Traffic Court. The judge of the court did his duty without fear or favor. He imposed just penalties on speeders and violators of the traffic rules. He found that

Detroit's safety  
campaign



"SAY IT WITH SAFETY AND SAVE THE FLOWERS"

A float in the Washington (D. C.) Safety Council's parade showed make-believe graves of people who broke traffic laws. The names on the tombstones were M. E. First, I. Kut Korners, Tooka Chance, A. J. Walker.

finer did not count for much. They were easily paid and the rich and reckless drivers were soon at it again. The judge found that "repeaters" were being frequently brought into his court by the police. So he changed his policy. It made a difference when, in one day, added to a fine of from \$25 to \$500, the judge sentenced 29 speeders to manual labor in the House of Correction. And there were no suspended sentences, — every one of the guilty 29 served his time. Among

them were five millionaires. Rich or poor, it made no difference; the law applies to all alike in America. The prisoners' automobile licenses were also revoked for a period of three months to a year.

The court deals with only one per cent of Detroit's automobile drivers, but their experience with the judge has a very good effect on the other 99 per cent who might be tempted to speed up on the city streets. The vision of the rock pile or the laundry tub is a fine restraint on men and women drivers who might be disposed to exceed the speed limit. Under this policy the number of speeders brought before the judge was reduced from a weekly average of 300 to *seven or eight*. The city sees to it that publicity is given to these cases. The judge might send 100 speeders to jail in a single day, but if the newspapers did not print the facts the lesson would be lost on all but the one hundred. But when the daily papers and the movies report the facts the lesson goes home to thousands of others.

Detroit has an Investigation Bureau in its Police Department. It consists of 18 policemen whose duty it is to investigate promptly and report to the prosecuting attorney every accident resulting in death or physical injury. It is the duty of every policeman throughout the city to send immediate word to police headquarters of any accident which may occur on his beat. The minute that news is flashed in, several members of the accident investigation squad rush to the scene. They obtain statements from witnesses and a police photographer takes pictures of the wreck and the scene. So the police are able to bring a good case into court. The city of Detroit invests \$50,000 a year in this work, which brings good dividends in the saving of lives and limbs.

There are rules for walkers, too, and if we are to have full coöperation and the right community spirit, those who walk on the streets must do their part in helping the traffic police. Accidents are not always the fault of the automobile drivers. Walkers

Need of co-  
operation by  
pedestrians

are careless and rush into danger. Traffic managers have announced some sensible rules for walkers :

Keep to the right on sidewalk, crosswalk, roadway, and passage way, but on a highway without sidewalk keep to the left so as to have a clear view of approaching traffic.



#### GO STRAIGHT ACROSS THE STREET AT THE CROSSING

Cross one street at a time. Thousands of people are killed every year while crossing the streets as the man at the left of the picture is doing. The man on the right is wise and crosses one street at a time.

Observe traffic before stepping from curb and keep off roadway except when crossing.

Keep out of traffic whirlpools.

Cross roadway at right angle, not diagonally. Only "jay walkers" try to cross two streets at a time. If possible on a crosswalk watch for the traffic officer's signals and heed traffic signs.

Stand on the sidewalk, or within safety zones, while waiting for street cars.

Face and step toward the front of a car when alighting.

Watch out for traffic when obliged to pass from behind a car.

Observe traffic when alighting from car.

Enter and leave car-stop safety zone only at crosswalk.

Do not loiter on a crosswalk or before an entrance.

Do not walk more than two abreast on a crosswalk or busy thoroughfare.

Each year thousands of people are killed in the United States by accident. In 1922 over 12,000 were reported, fully a fourth of them being children under 15 years of age. For every death there are 26 serious injuries; nearly 200,000 people are hurt or maimed or crippled. Is this not a terrible toll to pay to accidents?

The National Safety Council is trying to change the conditions which produce these two million tragedies every year. Should we not all coöperate in the home, on the street, and in the school?

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the safety devices in the home and in the school?
2. What are some of the dangers on the streets and how can they be avoided?
3. Write a theme on the ways in which your city seeks to safeguard its citizens against accidents.
4. To what extent is fast automobile driving responsible for accidents?
5. Are the children in your school forming habits in accordance with the ordinary laws of safety and common sense?
6. Are the boys and girls becoming more cautious in their play habits?
7. Can your school help to put on a "safety week" campaign in your city?
8. Can you think of other ways in which your school can help to save lives and prevent accidents?
9. Do you know of any accidents that have resulted when an automobile has tried to beat the train to the road crossing?

For references for Safety Instructions see the *Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company* for November, 1922, New York City.

The Highway Education Board, Pension Building, Washington, D.C., will send full information on the prevention of accidents.



## A CIVIC TEST

## AN AMERICAN BOY EXAMINES HIS FATHER

After his school study of American life and our community duties, a school boy asks his father some pertinent questions. How many American Fathers would pass this test with a "fair" grade?

1. Have you ever visited your child's school?
2. Do you take any trouble to vote, or to get others to vote?
3. Would you refuse to represent your ward on the City Council or on a political committee and let an inferior man have the job?
4. Do you go to any trouble to find out the qualifications of candidates for office?
5. Do you always vote the straight ticket on straight party lines?
6. Do you vote for a Congressman because you think he is a "good fellow"?
7. Have you ever made any effort to induce better men to run for Congress in your district?
8. Do you stay away from ward political meetings and then object to what was done?
9. Do you complain to the manager of your moving picture theater and urge him to show better or more interesting pictures?
10. Do you obey orders of your Health Board without making any protest even when you think they do more harm than good?
11. Do you object to any improvement tax in which you will have to pay your share?
12. Do you get out and shove and boost when occasion requires, or are you always a passenger?
13. When a public enterprise is needed do you say "Let George do it," or "What are 'they' going to do about it?"
14. Do you know who your State Officers are or whom you voted for at the last election?

H

## REFERENCES

- Howe, Frederic C., *The Modern City and its Problems*.  
Moody, Walter D., *What of the City?*  
Beard, Charles A., *American City Government*.  
Nolen, John, *City Planning*.  
Munro, W. B., *The Government of American Cities*, and *Bibliography on Municipal Government* for numerous references.

Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, Chapter V, and references following.

Consult the *Reader's Guide* for magazine articles and McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of Government* for topics on City Government.

## PRONOUNCING LIST

Miami  
Des Moines

mī ăm'ī  
dē moin'

initiative  
L'Enfant

īn īsh'ī ā tīv  
lān'fān

## CHAPTER XXV

### THE RURAL COMMUNITY

In 1790 more than nine tenths of our people lived in the country. Now more than half live in cities and towns of over 2500 in population. Growth of commerce, the factory system of production, increased means of communication, these and other influences have produced the change. The importance of our country population

The attractions of the city are numerous. In the cities are found, as a rule, better schools, larger churches, more opportunities for amusement and social life, more opportunities for young men and women to find employment. So population has gone from the country districts to the larger towns and cities. Many rural counties in the Middle West had a smaller population in 1920 than they had in 1910. So one of the problems of today is how country life may be improved and people in country and city be led to make more of the farm.

Although people have moved from the country to the cities, it is still true that one third of our workers are working on the farms. Farming is still the greatest single industry in America. It is the *basic* industry, and the farm home is still "the backbone of American civilization." Among all our workers the farmers are our greatest benefactors. By raising our food they enable us to live. City and country depend on one another, but the city is the more dependent. The country could get along without the city, but it is hard to see how the city could get along without the country. The city people would begin to starve and then they would *have to go to the land* to raise Importance of country workers

food. So we see the importance of keeping a contented, industrious, intelligent rural population who are well rewarded for the important work which they do for the community. It is the task of the whole community to add every possible comfort and attraction to life on the farm.

Rural life is now much more pleasant than it used to be. The farmer is not so isolated and lonely. The telephone enables the farmer's family to "keep in touch" with their neighbors, or to call the doctor or their friends in time of need. Good roads enable the farmer with his car to travel long distances and to



AN ILLINOIS FARM

go to town more easily, if need be. With all his improved machinery, such as the cultivator, the steam thresher, the tractor, the mowing machine — the farmer is able to do his work more easily. Free postal delivery brings him his mail and the daily paper; and the parcels post carries his packages to and from the city. (For better school life on the farm see pp. 446-452.)

The farmers have their rural Chautauquas in the summer, at which the people from all the country round may have a

vacation from toil. They may have pleasant amusements and concerts, and hear many instructive and entertaining lecturers.

At times the farmer wishes to add some improvement to his farm, or, it may be, to buy some expensive machinery. For this he may need to borrow money. Or, at certain seasons of the year the farmer finds **Farm loans** it necessary, before he can market his crops, to borrow money "to tide him over" for the season. For a large part of the year he has much outgo and no income. When his crops are sold his money comes in all at once. Until that time comes he needs *credit*. But the local banks may take advantage of his necessity and charge him a high rate of interest, and what he borrows at the bank can be borrowed often only for a short time, 60 days, 90 days, or six months. He may be called on to pay when he is in a tight place.

To help the farmer out of this difficulty and to enable him to use his resources as a means of borrowing, a Federal Farm Loan System was established in 1916. **Federal Farm Loan System** Farm loan banks are established in twelve different districts throughout the country, as in the Federal Reserve Banking System. Ten or more farmers, by combining together, may form a Farm Loan Association, and this Association may apply for loans to the Federal Farm Loan Bank. No loan is made for more than 50 per cent of the assessed value of the borrower's property, and the mortgage loan may be made for a period not less than five years nor more than forty, at a rate not to exceed 6 per cent, and the loan may be paid back in installments.

We have referred to the State Agricultural Colleges. Every State has one of these educational institutions, which has for its original purpose the promotion of education in agriculture. These are the "Land **Agricultural education** Grant" colleges, established under the Morrill Act of 1862. These colleges have a body of trained specialists and educators who are studying in their laboratories, giving



their whole time to research and investigation and experiment. They are trying to find out the causes of animal and plant diseases, and to make known the best means and conditions for producing the best crops. They give courses in all kinds of agricultural needs and they send out lecturers, instructors, and



A PIG CONTEST

A Louisiana farmer and a boy entered into friendly rivalry in raising two pigs. The pigs were eight weeks old when the contest began. The farmer used the old plan and spent \$5 on his pig. The boy used the new plan of the United States Department of Agriculture and spent \$15.54 to raise his pig. When shown at the county fair, the farmer's pig (the smaller one in the picture) weighed 65 pounds and sold for \$8.00. The boy's weighed 485 pounds and sold for \$58.

bulletins of information to farmers and farmers' institutes in the various counties in their respective States.

From these colleges and from the United States Department of Agriculture and other sources demonstration agents are sent out. These may be practical and successful farmers who show the farmers in the counties how to care for their land, their live stock, and their crops and to attend to farm accounting.

**Demonstration  
agents**

Intelligent women teachers from the Domestic Science Departments of these colleges and State Universities instruct the farmers' wives and daughters on important matters of the household, — in poultry raising, butter making, bread making, and the fine art of putting up fruits, jellies, and jams. This instruction is given by men and women who have learned these things from actual experience as well as from scientific "book knowledge." Boys' Corn Clubs and Pig Clubs and Baby Beef contests are organized and the farmers' boys are taught how to raise hogs, and how to make corn land yield more bushels to the acre.

So it is seen that farming is becoming a profession worthy of the best minds. Highly educated men are giving their attention to it, and its rewards are usually found to be in proportion to the amount of brain power expended on it. Farming is not merely a matter of "beef" and muscle any more than football is. Team work and brain work count on the farm as well as anywhere else.

The girls of the farm are organized into Canning Clubs and are taught how to can small fruits, berries, and tomatoes. They learn how to select the seed, how to plant and cultivate it, and in this way by intelligent organized effort the yield of certain garden vegetables like peas and tomatoes is greatly increased.

Agricultural high schools are established in rural communities, in which boys and girls from the country are taught to farm in more intelligent and profitable ways than their fathers have been able to do. As we look back over only a short period of twenty-five years we see that wonderful progress has been made in agricultural education and scientific farming.

Intelligent farmers are now studying the soil and its needs. The soil is like a human being. It needs food and rest and recreation. The farmer's field cannot *play* like a boy, but it can be given a rest and be *recreated* by being allowed to have the food and

Vocational  
high schools

Feeding and  
caring for the soil

sustenance which it needs. If soil is used for crops year in and year out, with never a let-up, it will wear out. It should be given some recreation, or be allowed to "lie fallow" a year. Or, the field can be sown to another crop which will help to restore the soil. If it is always feeding and is never fed, the soil will cease to produce profitably.

What are some of the foods for the soil?

The best fertilizer the land can have is barnyard manure, because it contains much vegetable matter (or organic matter) and also potassium and phosphorus, which most soils need for their enrichment. The soil, also, needs mineral substance, such as the dust that comes from the crumbled rock. This lime helps to make the soil; also, the elements of iron that give deep color to the stems and stalks of the plants. The leaves of the plants absorb carbon, and decaying leaves, as we all know, help to enrich the soil. The charcoal which you see when wood is burned shows the presence of carbon.

The soil also needs nitrogen, which may be provided by fertilizers. Nature will provide the nitrogen for the soil, if it is not used up too fast by the crops.

#### Feeding the soil

Forty bushels of corn to the acre will take out many pounds of nitrogen from the soil. The soil would soon cease to produce if the nitrogen were not restored to the soil. So *nitrates* are brought from Chili and other places. It has been found by experiment that land which will produce only 20 bushels of wheat to the acre will yield 32 bushels if nitrates are spread in the soil. Potatoes were increased from 130 to 210 bushels per acre. We seem to be on the eve of great progress and benefits to the farmers by manufacturing *nitrates*, thus furnishing a cheap manure for the land.

Nature does much for the soil in making nitrogen. There are many very little plants in the soil, countless in number, which can only be seen with a powerful microscope. They are called *bacteria*. They feed on nitrogen, and, growing into what they feed on, they increase the nitrogen in the soil. They need time and to be left undisturbed in order to produce.



#### PROFITABLE PETS

In 1921, 136,441 boys and girls were enrolled in agricultural extension clubs for training in various phases of live stock work.



This is the reason that poor soils lacking nitrogen will produce to the best advantage if given a "rest."

These *bacteria* live on the roots of plants belonging to the "pea family," such as alfalfa, beans, and clover. This food and feed coming from the "pea family" are called "legumes." They are good for worn-out soils, and it often happens that a crop of clover or soy beans may be taken from a field and the ground be left richer after the crop is taken off than it was before. The wise farmer plows under the legume as green manure, thus adding plant food to his soil. This is the reason clover is grown after a wheat yield is harvested. Early in the next summer the farmer can reap from that field a crop of hay and clover seed. He can then let his cattle graze in the field till early fall, when he turns his clover stubble under with the plow, and the soil is ready for another planting of wheat or corn.

This changing from a crop which takes material from the soil to one which renews it is called "crop rotation." The good farmer divides his farm into a number of fields and each year he changes the crop which he raises in any one field, sowing wheat in one field this year, and clover in that field the next year. Thus he varies his crops and calls nature to his aid in fertilizing the land. This rotation of crops also helps to kill the weeds and insect pests. A one-crop farm, or a one-crop section of country, is not very profitable in the long run.

Farming is an industry that reaches from one end of the country to the other. There are certain special agricultural sections but there is some farming in every State. The farmers are far apart; it is not easy for them to leave their work, to meet together and organize and hold frequent conventions. Especially was this true in earlier times when transportation and communication were difficult and expensive. Yet within the last fifty years a number of farmers' organizations have arisen, such as the "Grange" or "Patrons

#### Crop rotation

Organized  
farmers: in-  
fluence of  
legislation



of Husbandry," the "Farmers' Alliance," and other groups. These were for mutual benefit and improvement, to aid in better farming, to promote social and educational culture, to bring the farmers into contact with one another. Sometimes these organizations took part in politics.

What is meant by a "well-balanced" farm? Does such a farm raise both cattle and crops? What advantages come from doing this?

What kinds of fertilizers are sold in your community? Do you know of farm profits that have come from using fertilizers?

Can you tell something of what the United States Government is doing for the benefit of farmers and the promotion of scientific agriculture? Where is the Agricultural College in your State? Why does a farmer need education beyond the lower grades?

How do farmers "rest" their land? Why does this improve it for later cultivation?

More than ten years ago the United States Department of Agriculture began a policy which was the beginning of the County Agent System. The Department sent agents who had been trained for agricultural work into various counties in the South and West. These agents were to live in the counties, to organize the farmers, to show them how to fight animal diseases, the boll weevil, the chinch bugs, and other farm pests, and in every possible way to give helpful instruction in the arts of successful farming.

**The County  
Agent System**

Thousands of these county agents are now living and working with the farmers in our agricultural communities. Every progressive county is expected to have one, in any region where farming is a prominent industry. The States, the counties, and, in some places, the local chambers of commerce are helping to support these agents. The county agent is usually a graduate of an agricultural college. He works as the field agent of his State college and of the United States Department of Agriculture, using in his work the knowledge and facilities of both agencies.

Local farm bureaus were more recently formed; these united or federated into a State farm bureau, and these State bureaus in 1919 formed a national body, the "agricultural bloc" called the "American Farm Bureau Federation," to deal with national affairs. This is a nation-wide organization of farmers with millions of members. There were in 1923 over 1500 county farm bureaus in



THE COUNTY AGENT'S OFFICE

The Department of Agriculture has agents throughout the country, who advise farmers about farming problems. Here is shown a conference on weeds. It is about as hard to get rid of the weeds as it is to cultivate the grain.

46 different States. It is this organization, with its intelligent agents at Washington, that is backing the "agricultural bloc" in Congress and is looking out for the interests of farmers in national legislation. The Farmers' Union is the corresponding organization in the South. This nation-wide organization of farmers is seeking to bring a knowledge of scientific agriculture into every farming community. This movement

for rural organization and education has been called the "re-birth of American rural life."

These local farm bureaus are like coöperative societies for the farmers. They look out for their economic interests, manage grain elevators, help to sell the farm products, and to buy fertilizers, machinery, and other supplies. The farmers, by coöperation, are seeking to establish a business agency to manage farm business in a businesslike way in the interest of all.

Coöperation  
among farmers



A COUNTY AGENT GIVING A TALK ON POULTRY

Part of the county agent's work is to address agricultural clubs and teach improved methods of raising poultry and live stock.

The bureau is somewhat like a farmers' labor union. These organized farmers have obtained the passage of a bill by Congress providing for coöperative marketing without making the farmers' association subject to the anti-trust laws (see p. 206). They are seeking increased facilities for borrowing money not only on their land (as the Farm Loan Banks provide) but on their live stock and crops. They have asked to have a "dirt farmer" placed on the Federal Reserve Board, since they think the policy of that Board touches the interest of the farmers very vitally (see p. 168). Such an

appointment to the Federal Reserve Board was made in 1923. These farm organizations have been very influential in promoting the cause of good roads. In no other subject is the rural community more interested than in good roads, because good roads mean to the farmer quicker and cheaper transportation and easier access to markets.

Let us now see in what other ways the farmers are helping themselves and in what ways our government schools and colleges are helping to promote a better agricultural life.

### TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

1. Show how farm life is much more attractive than it was fifty years ago.
2. Why can the farm home be said to be "the backbone of American civilization"?
3. Tell all you can of the work of the County Agricultural Agent. Have you such an agent in your county? Do you have farmers' institutes in your county? What kind of subjects do they deal with?
4. Describe the Federal Farm Loan System.
5. What is being done for agricultural education in your State? Is agriculture taught in the public schools?
6. Are the boys and girls in your rural community organized for the promotion of any agricultural effort? Have any boys in your State or neighborhood received prizes for growing corn or pigs?
7. What are good foods for the soil? Why are fertilizers necessary?
8. What is meant by "rotation of crops"? Why is it a benefit?

### REFERENCES

1. Kile, Orville M., *The Farm Bureau Movement*.
2. Downing, E. R., "Saving the Soil," in *Lessons in Community and National Life*.
3. Magruder, F. A., *American Government in 1921*, pp. 406-412.
4. Haskin, Frederic J., *The American Government*, Chapter X, on "The Department of Agriculture."

### PRONOUNCING LIST

manure	mă nūr'	nitrogen	nī'trô jěn
potassium	pô tās'í ŭm	nitrate	nī'trāte
phosphorus	fôs'fôr ŭs	microscope	mī'crô skōp

## CHAPTER XXVI

### BETTER LIFE ON THE FARM

Nearly every State in the Union has agencies and boards to protect the farming industry and to promote a more intelligent agricultural life. This is especially true of the distinctly agricultural States. Some of these States have departments of agriculture, like that of the United States Government. There are many other boards and commissions, directed by specialists and scientific students of agriculture, whose duty it is to improve conditions in country life and to prevent the pests that may give trouble on the farm.

There are *dairy commissioners* to give the best information to aid in the production of milk, cream, and cheese and to see that the dairy farms and sheds are clean and free from conditions that might produce infection and disease.

There are *horticultural boards* whose duty it is to promote fruit culture and to enforce laws against plant diseases. Sometimes whole orchards become infected and have to be destroyed to prevent the San José scale from spreading to other orchards in the neighborhood. The common barberry has been found harmful and is being destroyed.

State boards to  
aid agriculture



THE FARMER'S SERVICE

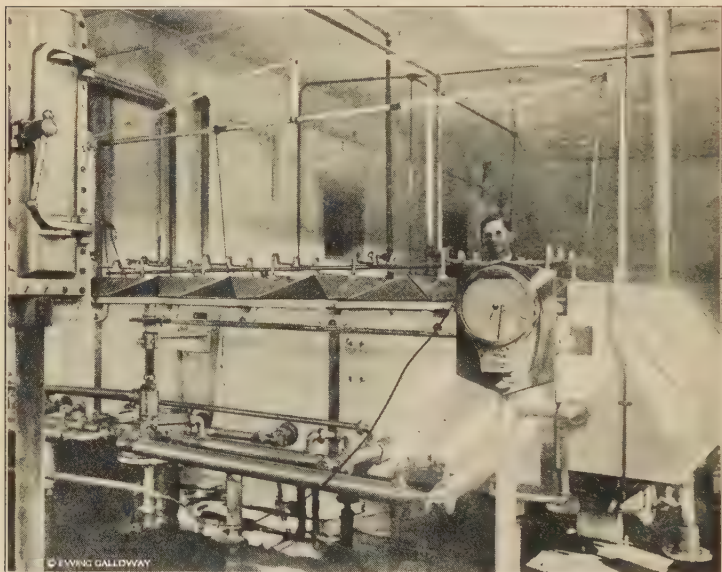
Before it is light, the farmer must start the milk on its way to breakfast tables in the city. This picture shows milk being inspected just before it is loaded on trains.



There are *sanitary boards* for the study of live stock whose duty it is to enforce quarantine regulations against diseased animals.

There are *forestry boards* and conservation commissions to help preserve the growing timber and to restore the supply.

There are *fish and game commissioners*, whose business it



A PASTEURIZATION PLANT

The world owes a great debt to Louis Pasteur, the French scientist who found a way to remove harmful germs from milk. To pasteurize milk is to heat it until it reaches a certain temperature. Thus fermentation is prevented, and it is possible for people in the cities to have safe milk.

is to stock the waters of the State with good food fish and to enforce the law to prevent the destruction of the fish by dynamiting and seining. They are trying, also, to preserve the wild game on the farm, to save "bob-white" and the rabbits and the squirrels, the mink and opossum and other fur-bearing animals from destruction by ruthless hunting and trapping out of season.

There are *State entomologists* (a big word for special students of insects) who look after all the insect pests that may destroy vegetables, fruits, and grains.

The work of these boards, when they are given sufficient power and support, is of great value to the people of the State.

Are the quails on a man's farm as much his property as his chickens?

Ought a farmer to "post" his land against hunting?

Do the wild fur-bearing animals on the farm destroy more property than they are worth?

Are there diseases of plants and live stock in your locality? What is done to suppress the diseases?

Much of this work is now being done by the State Agricultural Colleges and the Agricultural Experiment Stations (see p. 398).

These Experiment Stations have *experimental farms*, owned by the college or the Department of Agriculture. They are directed by intelligent experts and practical farmers. On these farms various experiments Agricultural Experiment Stations are tried out, in plant and animal husbandry, in dairying and poultry raising, in horticulture, in the care of bees and squabs, and in all food-raising enterprises.

Thousands of young men and women go to these agricultural colleges and experiment farms and receive the benefit of such instruction as they can carry back to their farm homes. Many who cannot leave their farming for a full four years' course go frequently in the winter for a short course of four weeks, or six weeks. The other college students call them the "short horns," but some of these "short horns" show that they have long heads, as they often turn out to be very intelligent and progressive farmers.

Just as certain schools and universities carry on work by correspondence, and conduct *extension* courses, Agricultural extension work so these agricultural colleges extend their work to thousands of farmers who cannot go to the college or to the experimental farm. The colleges answer

all inquiries that come in from the farm, and they send out leaflets and bulletins containing instruction and information which may be helpful to the farmer. Their expert teachers go out over the State to lecture at Farmers' Institutes organized under the leadership of the county agent. At certain times of the year special courses are given or lecturers and interurban exhibit cars are sent out, and these stop at



A SANITARY COW BARN

Each cow in this model barn has her own place to stand for milking, with her name over it. The first cow is Brindle, the next Devotion, the third Giantia, and the fourth Bess.

the county seats two or three hours, or long enough to enable the experts to give good messages on agriculture and household economics before the Farmers' Institutes.

There is an old proverb, "Happy is the land tilled by the man who owns it." The nation is always happier if its people own their own homes. This applies even more forcibly to the country than to the city.

Home-owning  
farmers

Home-owning farmers take better care of their land, have better buildings and improvements, raise larger

crops, grow finer live stock, have more money, give their children a better education than do tenant farmers. A rural district passing from owner-farmers to tenant-farmers is nearly always a district on the down grade in some ways.

We are told that there has been a steady growth of tenant farming in America since 1880. This has come about partly because of the difficulty of earning a fair return on land values. If the tenant has no **Increase in tenant farming** hope of ever owning the land that he tills he will not take very good care of it and loss of fertility to the soil is likely to result. The best farming is done by owners of small farms of from 80 to 160 acres. If farming decays and the land falls into the hands of a few large land-owners who live in the cities, the result is nearly always an injury to the community.

Farming should be made so prosperous that a "little farm well tilled" will bring about a "little house well filled" and a "little wife well willed" upon the farm. **Importance of prosperity on the farm** The year's labor of the farmer's family should produce not only a good living, but a good deal to spare for improvements and comforts, for culture and education. Prosperity depends very largely on the buying power of the farmer. If he cannot get enough in return to pay the expenses of raising his crops, he cannot buy the machinery from the factory or the merchant's goods. Everybody's business will be injured, factories have to close or slow down, traveling men cannot get orders from the country merchants, hard times come, and the whole nation will be in distress. If the nation is to have prosperity the farmer must be made prosperous.

The organization of the farmers has helped them to act together in marketing their products. Farm products have always been the subject of speculation. No one knows what price farm produce will bring **Coöperative marketing** a week or a month ahead. Speculators on the city stock exchange gamble on the future prices of corn,





Life on the farm has today practically all the conveniences of city life. Much of the work about the farm is now done by water-power or electricity. The **MOTOR WASHING MACHINE**, which greatly lessens the work of the housewife, has replaced the back-breaking washboard of the old days. The rural free delivery, which makes the daily papers accessible, and the telephone, have brought the farmer into closer touch with his neighbors,



the markets and the outside world. The radio, too, has broadened his horizon and affords a new form of recreation. For the **AMUSEMENT OF THE FARMER** there are organizations which provide entertainments of





lectures and concerts at central points. All the family may attend these recreations. In his automobile the farmer may soon reach his neighbors or drive to the city. Because of the GOOD ROADS, it is now possible for country children to have better schooling. No doubt in their childhood their parents knew the hardship of trudging a mile or more through rough fields and over deeply rutted roads, in all kinds of weather, because in those days there were no facilities for carrying them to and from the one-room dis-



trict school. Thousands of little red schoolhouses are disorganizing because the school motor-bus enables children in the outlying districts to attend the large well-equipped CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS in central towns.

wheat, cattle, hogs, etc. They deal in "futures." In July they will buy, or bid for, wheat to be delivered in October. They guess, or bet, that wheat will be worth so much at such a time. They expect to sell at a better price what they have engaged to take before the time comes for them to pay for what they have bought. Of course, they never expect to see or handle any wheat. So the natural market for the farmer is often interfered with or manipulated by those who deal in wheat on the stock exchanges. Also the commission merchants or the middlemen may combine to control the price which the farmer is to receive.

Now the local farm bureau is seeking to do away with some of the present marketing machinery and to eliminate much of the cost of getting farm products from the farm producer to the city consumer. Instead of each farmer shipping for himself a few cattle or hogs to the city market, the local farmers' organization employs an agent, perhaps one of their own number, to market all their stock. This saves expense and by being thus united the farmers can have more control over the price of things they have to sell.

An intelligent farmer's boy, who was used to riding with his father to market, once asked :

"Why is it, father, that we always ask the man how much he will pay us for our farm products and then when we go to the store we always ask the storekeeper how much he wants for his goods?"

Can you answer that farmer boy's question? Why should not the farmers be able to control the price of what they have to sell?

The little "red schoolhouse" in the countryside has done wonderful things for America. From these country schools have come some of our greatest leaders and some of the best men and women of our land.

These little country schools were placed within a mile or two of every country home. They represented the whole community and they not only taught the children but trained men and women for leadership and education, with their

singing schools, their spelling bees, their debating clubs, and literary societies, and their "exhibitions" for the whole community on the "last day of school." They were the best influence in our country life.

But the best we can have in one time may not be good enough for another time. Country schools have changed along with other things. Better life on the farm is demanding better education for the boys and girls of the farm. Rural education is coming to receive far more attention than it formerly did, when every country community seemed to take care of itself without much thought of coöperation.



A SCHOOL AUTO BUS

Instead of having many small schools in the rural districts, it is becoming the custom to have one large well-equipped school for the children of several districts or neighborhoods. They are carried to and from school in auto busses.

Let us notice some of the obvious needs of our country schools: ~~—————~~

1. *Good teachers.* The best are none too good. The teacher is the life of the school, its head and director. /

The coun- Needs of the  
country school

try schools are now demanding not only men and women of high character as their teachers, but highly educated men and women, graduates of high schools and colleges. The time was when the teacher could hardly find a comfortable place in which to live near his school. He would have to "board around" in different places, a week or two at a place. He had to act as his own janitor at the schoolhouse. Now, in good country districts, just as a manse or parsonage is provided for the minister, so a home is being provided for the teacher. Thus the teacher may have a permanent home in the neighborhood of the school and become a social and educational leader for the community.

The teacherage

To secure these better teachers there must be better pay. Teachers have been too poorly paid, and in consequence young teachers leave the profession for something that will pay them better. The teacher has to spend a good deal of money to obtain an education and it seems that his intellectual and moral task of teaching the children should be worth to the community as much as the services of those who labor with their hands.

The country teacher is entitled to this larger support and to proper facilities for teaching as well as the teacher in the city. A few years ago \$33 was being expended every year for the education of each city child, while only \$13 was being expended for each country child. Why should there not be as much tax money for the support of the country school as for the support of the city school? Should the wealth of the city not help to bear the necessary expense for good educational opportunities in the country? Because these opportunities have not been so good in the country, leading farm families have been forced to move into town, or to send their children to town in order to get the educational facilities their children should have.

2. *Physical improvements.* Another need of the country school is the physical improvement of the schoolhouse and grounds. This is now being rapidly attended to. The old log schoolhouse and the battered frame buildings with their tumble-down out-houses are now largely a thing of the past. Good comfortable school buildings are provided, with playgrounds and hygienic provisions for children's needs.

3. *Community coöperation for school purposes.* Good buildings and grounds do not make a school nor can the teacher do it by herself. There must be coöperation among parents, teachers, and pupils. These can all meet together at times, with the schoolhouse as a community center. The pupils as members of the school owe it support. They are under obligations not only to obey its rules but to strive for its advancement, to promote its interest, and to seek to realize its ideals.

Everything depends on the *spirit of the school*, the loyalty and faithfulness of its members, and the way in which the teachers, pupils, and parents can work together for the common good.

4. *Better supervision.* A fourth need is better supervision. All the schools of the township, perhaps of the county, may be brought under one common plan that every school may have an equal provision for its needs and a fair chance with the rest. Each school may have its own individual life. No school needs to copy after another; each may seek to excel in its own way. But expert educational knowledge and the advantage of good leadership and supervision should be brought to the school in the country as well as to the school in the city.

How large shall the community be which controls or supervises education? Should it be merely the local school district in a rural community, say in a neighborhood about two miles around? Shall every such community be allowed to manage its own school affairs in its own way, the patrons of the school electing the teacher, with a

Supervision for the country school: What should be the school unit?

- District School Commissioner to take care of keeping up the schoolhouse? This was an old way and it may survive yet in some country districts.

Or, shall the unit be the township, about six miles square, with several schools that are under the control of a Township Trustee? This system exists in some States. A Township Trustee is elected, for business or political reasons, who may have charge of the roads and poor relief and other important matters, and this Trustee is made the educational director of all the schools in his township. He may not be a trained man at all, and he may be much more interested in other things than in schools; but he is expected to employ and discharge the teachers and take care of several schools of the township with very little oversight or direction from the outside.

The School Trustee for the township



Or, shall the school unit be the whole county, with a county Board of Education with power to employ all the teachers of the county (outside of cities and incorporated towns) and provide for the needs of all the schools alike? Many States have now the County Superintendent of Schools, who holds examinations for teachers and issues licenses to teach to those who are found to be competent; who holds County Teachers' Institutes for a week or more each year, for the instruction of teachers; who visits the rural schools and gives advice to the teachers, and he may also *advise* the Township Trustee; but in many States the County Superintendent or the County Board of Education has no power to control the district and township schools. The country schools are especially concerned in having a good County Superintendent of Schools.

The best educational leadership is now coming to favor the county as the educational unit, with some State aid and supervision under the school laws of the State. The school funds can be used more economically, and there may be developed more uniform schools throughout the county and the term may be of the same length for all alike, and the poorer districts and poorer schools may be in other ways brought up to the standard of the best.

Have you a County Superintendent of Schools? What is his name and where does he live? How is he elected? What are his duties? What is the length of his term? What qualifications is he required to have?

Have you a Township Trustee who has educational duties to perform? What are these duties? How many country schools are there in your township? What is the length of term of each? What kind of schoolhouses are there? How is the schoolhouse kept up? Are the school grounds kept in good order? Is the schoolhouse used for any other purpose than for holding school? In what activities does the school engage? Are there playgrounds? Does the school encourage athletics? Are conveniences provided for playing basket ball or other games?

What is the "school age" in your State? How many children are there of that age in the State? How many of them are not in school? Is the truancy law (or compulsory education law) well enforced in your neighborhood? What proportion of children leave school before reaching the high school? What reasons do they give for doing so?

What is the length of your school year? How does that compare with the terms in other neighborhoods or counties in your State? Ought the school year to be as long in the country as in the city? Why isn't it?

5. One of the great needs of the country school in many parts of the country is the consolidation of several small schools into one larger one. In this way many of the needs which we have mentioned may be supplied.

Under the township and county system the movement for consolidated schools has been carried out in the rural districts. This means the uniting of several one-room schools, poorly equipped and poorly taught, into a larger graded school at some central point, better equipped and better taught. It is very hard and unsatisfactory for one teacher to handle all the children of various grades in one room. In the cities the schools are well graded, with a teacher in charge of each grade; or there are "departmental teachers," one teacher teaching one or two subjects in several grades but always in separate rooms. Thus special provision is made for the grade of the work. In country districts this is partly provided for by consolidating a number of schools.

In many rural districts, as we have noticed, the population has decreased; many of the people have moved to towns and cities. The result is that in some school districts the school is very poorly attended, having only ten or fifteen pupils, sometimes even less. By consolidating these small country schools, a good-sized graded school at some central place may be maintained with three or four grade teachers. Some of the pupils have to go a long way to school, but they are carried to and from school in the public "school bus." In some cen-

tral town or village a good consolidated Township High School is maintained and all the pupils of the township who have attained that grade may attend with free tuition.

The courses of study have been enlarged. Pupils in the country may study agriculture, just as in city schools there are various kinds of vocational work. They have athletic directors and, if they wish, the pupils may study music and art. Many schools have orchestras and they give concerts at the schoolhouse, which is used as the "community center." There, as in the church, the community has its social gatherings, and the neighborhood literary societies and debating clubs may meet; school exhibitions and lectures may be given in the school auditorium. Better wages can be paid to the teachers at such a school and the community is promoted and enriched by such a school center.

This description applies only to the better and more advanced school communities in the country, but it shows what has been done and indicates the modern tendency and the goal toward which other communities are striving. It shows what coöperation can do between teachers, pupils, parents, and taxpayers for the schools of the community.

Where does the money come from to support the schools? Of course, from taxes, local taxes, and State taxes, and from a common school endowment fund that may have been established in the past. The people consent to tax themselves for this cause. There is nothing they believe in more devotedly than education. Parents want their children to have the best, better than they themselves had. They think good schools are a good investment. Good schools help the community by producing better citizens, better order, a more elevated and refined standard of life. They help to bring good people to a community and thus add to its wealth and prosperity. Most of the money for schools is raised by *local* taxation, a part of it is given by the State, especially to rural and needy communities.

All this money and all this effort for better churches and better schools, for better marketing and better coöperation and organization among the farmers, is to make better life on the farm, better homes, better boys and girls, better men and women. One of the leaders of the organized farmers of America has very well said :

" The farm home is the center of America, the farm boy and the farm girl are the hope of the nation. If what we are doing does not improve conditions for the farm home, for the farm mother, the farm boy and girl, then what we are doing is nothing. To get more money for the farmer is of value only as it is reflected in better conditions on the farm. It is from the farms that we must draw our leaders of the future as we have drawn our leaders in the past." <sup>1</sup>

### QUESTIONS

Are the farms in your neighborhood owned mostly by those who do the farming?

What farmers in your community have attended the State Agricultural College? Can you notice any benefits that have come from such attendance?

### REFERENCES

1. Bailey, Liberty H., *The Country Life Movement. The Farmer and the State.*
  2. Carver, T. N., *Principles of Rural Economics.*
  3. Coulter, John L., *Coöperation Among Farmers.*
  4. Carney, Mable, *Country Life and Country School.*
  5. Farmers' Bulletins may be obtained from the U. S. Department of Agriculture and many publications from the State Agricultural College.
- Consult your County Agent on Farm Publications.

### PRONOUNCING LIST

San Jose	Săn Hô sã'	entomologists	ăn tô mỗl'ô jists
----------	------------	---------------	-------------------

<sup>1</sup> James R. Howard, in *World's Work*, Sept., 1922, p. 515.

## SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SCHOOL

A country school may be organized into a *Community Club* with its officers and a plan of work. This Club might take into consideration ways and means of helping the school and the country neighborhood; how the schoolhouse and grounds may be improved; how the high weeds on the country roadside may be cut and the countryside be made more beautiful by shade trees and flowers; what the Township Trustee may be asked to furnish for the benefit of the school; how the Club may help the teacher, and lead the pupils of the school to be self-governing and mutually helpful toward one another. In this way pupils may learn to conduct meetings; they may *vote* and elect township and county officers, and they may be led to consider the *motives* that should control voters and officers in the conduct of public business.

In these ways the young citizens in school may learn self-government by actual practice. They learn by doing. They do not merely study the *forms* of government and the *theories* of citizenship; they engage in civic activities. They make and enforce laws for themselves. They conduct a *school republic*.

Here are some of the subjects which they are encouraged to consider for constructive legislation:

Kindness toward all, especially the smaller children.

Welcome and protection toward newcomers in the school.

Enforcing the laws.

Removing snow from walks.

Putting sand and cinders on icy paths and steps.

Removing broken glass, fruit skins, and other obstacles from places in which they may cause accidents.

Giving all possible assistance to the teachers and support to the enterprises of the school.

Cleanliness of blackboards, floors, yards, streets.

Respect for the flag and keeping it in repair.

Topics for Preventive Legislation:

Playing with fire.

Gambling in any form.

Quarreling and fighting.

Using improper language.

Defacing the walls and fences.

Throwing stones where any person, animal, or bird may be injured.

Breaking glass where it may do injury to shoes or rubber tires.

Dropping fruit skins, paper, or litter on sidewalks.

Making unreasonable noise to the disturbance of others: boisterous and rowdy conduct.



Climbing on or meddling with automobiles.

Trespassing on the yards and property of neighbors. Other subjects will occur which may apply to special and local needs. The object is to *bring out the good*, not merely to repress the wrong; to cultivate social and civic rightness, not to make rules and prohibitions for school discipline. Self-discipline, the best of all, will follow as a by-product.

The pupils should be encouraged to think for themselves and make their own proposals. A part of the value of this civic work is that it develops a fair, judicial mind and a *civic conscience*. It brings out the habit of acting and cooperating for the welfare of all. Efficient citizenship will come not so much by teaching civics as by *civic training*. Children may learn very early in life to consider what should be done to prevent wrongdoing, to remedy wrongs that have been committed, and to bring about better moral and physical conditions in the communities in which they live. They will learn that the fundamental principle of democratic citizenship is found in the spirit of cooperation, in regard for the rights of others, in promoting not merely selfish interests but the welfare of all. In short, the Golden Rule is the basis of government, at home, in school, in business, and in the State.

For further suggestions on the School Republic and plans for civic training in the schools, application should be made to Wilson L. Gill, President of the American Patriotic League, 501 W. Mt. Pleasant Ave., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. The authors are indebted to Mr. Gill for many suggestions for school legislation which they have been permitted to use.



## APPENDIX

### THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

*In Congress, July 4, 1776*

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is in undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of the free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States ; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support



of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

*New Hampshire* — JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

*Massachusetts Bay* — SAM'L. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

*Rhode Island* — STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

*Connecticut* — ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

*New York* — WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

*New Jersey* — RICH'D. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

*Pennsylvania* — ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

*Delaware* — CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

*Maryland* — SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of CARROLTON.

*Virginia* — GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

*North Carolina* — WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

*South Carolina* — EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR., THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

*Georgia* — BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### ARTICLE I.

#### SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State

shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

### SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

#### SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

#### SECTION V.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceeding, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

#### SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respec-

tive houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

#### SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

#### SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

#### SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.



No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

#### SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

### ARTICLE II.

#### SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]<sup>1</sup>

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of

<sup>1</sup> This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the Amendments.

President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

#### SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

#### SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

#### SECTION IV.

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III.

#### SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and

establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

#### SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

#### SECTION III.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

### ARTICLE IV.

#### SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

## SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

## SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

## SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

## ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.



## ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

## AMENDMENTS

## ARTICLE I (Adopted 1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

## ARTICLE II (Adopted 1791)

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

## ARTICLE III (Adopted 1791)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

## ARTICLE IV (Adopted 1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

## ARTICLE V (Adopted 1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

## ARTICLE VI (Adopted 1791)

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

## ARTICLE VII (Adopted 1791)

In suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

## ARTICLE VIII (Adopted 1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

## ARTICLE IX (Adopted 1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

## ARTICLE X (Adopted 1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI<sup>IF</sup> (Adopted 1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

## ARTICLE XII (Adopted 1804)

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the

House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

### ARTICLE XIII (Adopted 1865)

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### ARTICLE XIV (Adopted 1868)

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the propor-

tion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

## ARTICLE XV (Adopted 1870)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## ARTICLE XVI (Adopted 1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

## ARTICLE XVII (Adopted 1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof



to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

#### ARTICLE XVIII (Adopted 1919)

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### ARTICLE XIX (Adopted 1920)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

# SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

BY MARY A. KERR<sup>1</sup>

Community civics has won its way to an important place in the elementary school curriculum. This is a recognition of the need for training in citizenship. We have come to see that the good citizen is one who is whole-heartedly active in his community, one who is working with others for the common good. At the same time we realize that the best training for good citizenship in the larger community is good citizenship in the home, the school, the neighborhood, and in the ever-widening community of which the child, as he grows, becomes an active member.

## Community civics

The school, therefore, has accepted the obligation of interpreting the child to himself, and of making him realize his obligations to home, parents, brothers, sisters, and to the various social agents in the community, the butcher, the baker, the grocer, the ice-man, the milkman, and others who supply his physical needs. The policeman who looks to his safety at street crossings, the postman who brings mail to his home, the fireman who fights the fires, — all of these and many more are working for his safety and comfort and happiness. He thus comes to realize the interdependence of individuals in the community and has a basis for appreciating his corresponding obligations. One result of this feeling of interdependence is an awakening interest in the community and a corresponding desire to know more about the various agencies for coöperation. This is the field covered in the textbook on "Community Civics."

## The obligation of the school

We do not claim that this book or any other book will *make* good citizens. We know that training for citizenship demands *activity* and that the kind of citizenship which will be effective in a democracy cannot be developed under an autocratic school government. The school organization both in curriculum and method must provide abundant opportunities for children to participate as fully and freely as possible in all the activities of the school. It is only in this way that habits of working together

## School activity

<sup>1</sup> Miss Kerr (A.M. Columbia), Critic Teacher in Civics and History in the 7th and 8th grades of the Public Schools of Indiana.

for the common good will result, with all the satisfaction that comes from having initiated or helped in the planning. The pupil is developing, too, the habit of making right choices, the habit of abiding by the will of the majority, and many other habits equally desirable. Such provision for activity makes real the oft-reiterated statement that "School *is* Life, and not merely the preparation for Life." In such a school the child lives, now, just as he ever will live.

It is with this understanding of the function of community civics that this textbook has been prepared and is now submitted to the children and teachers.

The teacher may believe in using the text as a core around which the instruction centers and as a point of departure for providing situations requiring desirable activities from the students, or as a guide or manual or source of information to which the student will go to seek help on some topic in which his interest has been aroused. This book lends itself equally well to either use. The material is arranged logically, yet at every step in the development the psychological appeal is to the student's experience.

At the ends of the chapters only a few "fact" questions are offered, *i.e.*, questions which can be answered directly from the text. These few will serve to illustrate for the teacher the kind of questions that may be used for purposes of review. Any teacher will see the necessity of the pupils' getting the facts, without taking up space in the text with such questions. The suggestions and questions inserted in the body of the text as well as at the end of the chapters, are thought-provoking, problem-suggesting, and are for the purpose of requiring *use* of facts, and for sending the pupil to his own experiences, to the community, and to newspapers, magazines, and other sources. The teacher is urged to give much attention to this most valuable part of the work.

This method will naturally lead to a demand for newspapers and magazines in the school. Let the class work on this as a project. They can plan and carry into execution ways of providing all the material they will need. They should be encouraged to select from sample copies which will be cheerfully sent by the publishers, the particular periodicals they want. Certain standard books of reference may also be secured through class coöperation. They need only to be made conscious of the need for such helps and they will provide ways and means.

There will arise, too, the need for a bulletin board, on which clippings, cartoons, and pictures may be placed, bearing on topics under consideration. For many of the topics, clipping bureaus

should be encouraged. A good way to become acquainted with the duties and problems of the governor, members of the cabinet, and other public officials is to keep clippings on their activities over a period of time, and then let different students summarize information and inquiries on the basis of these clippings. The class may become interested in keeping for permanent use such material and this will form an interesting project. Students should plan and work together in securing a filing cabinet and in collecting and preparing and indexing such material.

The wise teacher will take advantage of situations of civic significance, and will so direct the class attention and activities that projects will naturally suggest themselves. This will also put the students on the track of information for carrying forward these projects.

We have known a case where interest in the presidential primary resulted in the holding of a primary election in the school. Presidential candidates were investigated, material was collected and presented in English and Civics classes, information was sought from local officials and from the election laws as to the exact manner of conducting the election. The printing classes were enlisted to print the ballots and they had to go out for information in order that their part of the program might be properly cared for. On election day (which was the same day on which the regular primaries were held) the ropes were stretched; the various officials, some of whom were teachers, performed their respective functions prescribed by law, and the five hundred students voted and waited for returns quite as interestedly as their elders around their voting places. The actual learning from such an experience, the by-products, and the attitudes thus encouraged are very valuable.

We are suggesting some situations of civic significance which may be used for the development of projects in which the children may plan and execute and enjoy and learn abundantly through the satisfaction that comes from participation. Many others will occur to the teacher who is looking for opportunities for enlisting the whole-hearted activities of boys and girls in a work of real citizenship.

#### Some civic projects

a. There may be an agitation for city parks or public playgrounds. Project: What can our school do to help this cause?

b. Some civic organization has become interested in a "Beautifying-our-City" campaign, or a "Clean-up Campaign."

Project: How can we enlist every boy and every girl in this campaign?

c. Some accident due to carelessness is holding public attention.

Project: What can we do to enlist everyone in a "Safety First" Campaign?

*d.* A disastrous fire in the community leads to a consideration of causes, loss, etc., culminating in the —

Project: What are our duties so far as fire protection is concerned?

*e.* A proposed new school building with all the attendant discussion in local circles may well lead to a discussion of the cost of education; where the money comes from, etc.

Project: What does my community spend for my education?

*f.* Local newspapers speak of certain individuals as "good citizens."

Project: Analyze the elements common and necessary to all good citizens from these concrete examples, and formulate a definition of a good citizen.

*g.* A "Good Roads" campaign is on in your community. Encourage children to gather data on kinds of roads and the cost of the different kinds. Have committees appointed to write to the State department for information; also to the Federal department. Let students arrange and classify such material and make it available to the adult members of the community.

*h.* There is an effort to consolidate schools in your township.

Project: What are the advantages of consolidation?

Arguments both for and against should be collected and made available to the community. Such work done by the students will serve to encourage the parents to look to the school for much information upon which opinions may be founded, and thus make the school serve as a real source of help.

While the class is studying the city community, a city government might be organized, with its Mayor, City Council, and City Boards; and the pupils, treating their school as a city, may make and enforce laws for their own local government.

**City organization  
in the school**

While studying the State community a State Legislature may be organized, its form and powers may become known through the practical operation of a legislature and the passing of laws.

**Miniature State,  
Senate, and Re-  
public**

While the class is studying the national community, a United States Senate might be organized and some current national and international questions could be discussed.

The school itself may be turned into a republic, the teacher becoming the leader, guide, and friend of self-governing boys and girls. The ideal in every school is that of the *School Republic*, in which the pupils may be trained in self-government. There is no way to learn



self-government except by practice. The pupils will develop a civic conscience and become good citizens, not so much from teaching and preaching by others, as from training in actual practice. They will learn true civics by doing their civic duty and living up to civic standards to which they themselves have agreed. Let them feel responsibility for their own decisions and conduct. They can easily

**The School Re-** be led to pledge themselves to be loyal, obedient,  
**public** and faithful to every branch of their government,  
from that of the United States to that of their own  
School Republic; to endeavor to make good laws and to obey  
them; when elected to any office to perform its duties to the best  
of their knowledge and ability; and when their School Republic is  
in operation to do their best to give it support; to cast their votes  
for the best officers and if summoned to appear in court to comply  
and give assistance to the judges and authorities in learning the  
truth and arriving at a just decision.

The above projects are merely suggestive. Many of these may be a means of socializing and bringing together the whole school.

**Socializing the** Reports of progress made by different students  
**school** who have undertaken to work up a portion of the  
field may be given during the opening exercise  
period, or, in larger schools, during the convocation period. English,  
history, geography, mathematics, general science, in fact, all of the  
work of the school may be made to contribute to this work. The  
civics work, if properly conceived and handled by the teacher, will  
thus become the richest source for real education in the whole school.

Not many specific references are given throughout the text for the reason that we believe that effective teaching of civics depends much more on the teacher's skill in awakening interest in the current needs and in guiding the activities which will lead to the satisfaction of those needs. A few books, however, of value to the teacher are here suggested. These, every teacher should have:

1. Bonser — *The Elementary School Curriculum* — Chapter XVII, "Citizenship and Curriculum." This chapter covering twenty-five pages is the best single source presenting in a perfectly logical, simple, practical way what citizenship really is, and a correspondingly sound psychological basis for training for citizenship.

2. The following bulletins are also very valuable and contain many practical suggestions:

Dept. of Interior. Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1915,  
No. 23. "The Teaching of Community Civics."

Dept. of Interior. Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1916,  
No. 28. "The Social Studies in Secondary Education."

Dept. of Interior. Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1920, No. 18. "Lessons in Civics for Elementary Grades."

Dept. of Interior. Bureau of Education. Bulletin 1922, No. 3. "Preparation of Teachers of the Social Studies for the Secondary Schools," by Edgar Dawson.

The teacher should also know of the work of the *School Republic* as set forth in leaflets by Wilson L. Gill, Educational Director of the Constitutional League of America, 501 W. Mt. Pleasant Avenue, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

3. Among the books of great help to teachers and also to the students for help on special phases of the work are:

Allen, *Civics and Health*. (Ginn and Co.)

Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*. (Longmans)

Carney, *Country Life and the Country School*. (Row, Peterson and Co.)

Haskins, *American Government*. (Lippincott)

4. The World Almanac should be available always, and your state bulletins or Year Book.

## A PLAN FOR PRACTICAL STUDY OF CITY GOVERNMENT: HOW A SCHOOL WAS ORGANIZED INTO A CITY

The Lucretia Mott School in Indianapolis was organized as the City of Lucretianapolis, with the affairs of the school city placed under the control and direction of the pupils. The teachers acted as advisers and guides, but the officers were elected by the "citizens" and the rules and authority came from the citizen pupils. The following constitution, or charter, was adopted, following the usual provisions in cities:

### ARTICLE ONE. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

#### SECTION 1. Mayor.

##### Clause 1. Qualifications of Mayor.

No person is or shall be eligible to hold the office of Mayor who has not finished the 8B grade and who is not 12 years of age. He or she must have been a citizen of this city for three months. The said child must be a good student and be of good moral character.

##### Clause 2. How Elected.

The Mayor is elected by the majority vote of the people.

##### Clause 3. Oath.

The Mayor shall take the following oath before taking his office: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of Mayor of Lucretianapolis, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Charter of Lucretianapolis."

##### Clause 4. Length of Term.

The Mayor shall serve one semester or eighteen weeks.

##### Clause 5. Duties of Mayor.

The Mayor is to enforce all laws enacted by the common council. He is to pass on all ordinances, either voting for or vetoing them. The Mayor has the power to appoint the head of the Board of Health and the Secretary of the Board of Education.

**SECTION 2. City Clerk.****Clause 1.**

Before a person is eligible to be a City Clerk he must be a good citizen, be over 12 years of age, have completed the seventh grade and have at least B in English.

**Clause 2.**

The City Clerk shall be elected by the majority vote of the people or the citizens of Lucretianapolis and shall hold his office during a term of four months.

**Clause 3.**

The City Clerk shall take the following oath before taking his office: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of City Clerk of Lucretianapolis, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Charter of Lucretianapolis."

**Clause 4.**

The City Clerk of this city shall be clerk of the common council. He shall keep the records of the proceedings of such council and have charge of all papers relating to this business.

**Clause 5.**

It is the City Clerk's duty to take the place of the Mayor when the Mayor and City Controller are absent.

**Clause 6.**

The City Clerk takes care of all the city's books.

**Clause 7.**

The City Clerk has police power, that is, he can arrest anyone who is doing wrong.

**Clause 8.**

The City Clerk is authorized to administer oaths and such things.

**SECTION 3. City Controller.****Clause 1.**

The City Controller is to be a citizen of Lucretianapolis and have completed the seventh grade, and been in this city one term.

**Clause 2.**

The City Controller shall take the following oath before taking his office: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of City Controller of Lucretianapolis, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Charter of Lucretianapolis."

**Clause 3.**

The City Controller shall be at the head of the department of finance. He shall take the Mayor's place when he is absent. He shall be elected by the citizens of Lucretianapolis.

**Clause 4.**

The City Controller should prescribe the form of the reports and accounts to be rendered to his department, and have inspection of all departments.

**Clause 5.**

He has charge of all books and papers pertaining to his department or entrusted to it.

**Clause 6.**

To issue all licenses upon the presentation and surrender of the license fees and to collect controller's fees, fixed by ordinances.

**SECTION 4. Board of Safety.****Clause 1.**

The Board of Safety shall consist of six members appointed by the Mayor, who shall also appoint the chairman of the Board.

**Clause 2.**

No one shall be eligible for membership on the Board unless he shall have completed the 7A grade, and shall be twelve years old or over.

**Clause 3.**

Each member of this Board shall furnish evidence that he has been an orderly, upright citizen at all times.

**Clause 4.**

This Board shall have charge of civic and traffic officers, and shall see that all laws for the safety of the community are enforced.

**SECTION 5. The Board of Education.****Clause 1.**

No person shall be eligible for membership in the Board of Education who shall not have been a citizen of our city for two months. He or she shall have finished the 7B grade and be twelve years of age or over.

**Clause 2.**

The members of the Board of Education shall hold office for a term of 18 weeks. The members of said board shall be elected at our regular city election.

**Clause 3.**

If they wish to withdraw they must write a resignation which must be filed with the City Controller.

**Clause 4.**

The Board of Education shall meet to organize in one week after the Election.

**Clause 5.**

They shall prepare the morning exercises. If the Board of



Public Works finds any untidy desks, the Board of Public Works shall report it to the Board of Education, which shall teach the untidy pupils to arrange their books neatly. The Board of Education must also watch the English of the children.

#### SECTION 6. The Board of Health.

##### Clause 1.

No boy or girl is eligible for membership on the Board of Health who shall not have been a citizen of our city for 2 months and be twelve years of age, and have completed the 7B grade.

##### Clause 2.

The Secretary of the Board of Health shall be elected by the people at the regular election.

##### Clause 3.

The Secretary shall have four helpers, who shall be appointed by the Mayor.

##### Clause 4.

The members shall inspect the rooms in the basement and the drinking fountains. They shall see that no papers are thrown around. They shall adjust the windows and blinds. They shall notify the rooms that they will have indoor recess.

##### Clause 5.

They shall see that all children come to school clean.

#### SECTION 7. The Board of Public Works.

##### Clause 1.

The Board of Public Works shall be composed of five members.

##### Clause 2.

No person shall be eligible for membership in the said Board who shall not have been for thirty days a citizen of the city.

##### Clause 3.

The members of the said Board shall be appointed by the Mayor of the city.

##### Clause 4.

If a member of the said Board prove incapable he may be removed by the Mayor.

##### Clause 5.

The said Board shall be responsible for street cleaning, blind repairing, and inspection of desks.

##### Clause 6.

The said Board may appoint as many assistants as necessary.

## ARTICLE TWO. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

## SECTION 1. The Common Council.

## Clause 1.

The Legislative powers shall be vested in a council which shall be composed of one member from each of the twelve districts, elected by the citizens of that district.

## Clause 2.

There shall be six councilmen or women at large, elected by the citizens of the city. They shall represent the entire city.

## SECTION 2.

## Clause 1.

Before the councilman shall enter on execution of his office he must take the following oath: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of councilman and I will to the best of my ability preserve and protect the Charter of Lucretianapolis."

## SECTION 3.

## Clause 1.

No person shall be a councilman who has not been a member of this city for three months and a member of the precinct from which he is elected for thirty days.

## SECTION 4.

## Clause 1.

The council shall have the power to make all laws which shall be necessary for the general welfare of the city.

## ARTICLE THREE

## SECTION 1. Election of Public Officers.

The time set for the election of Public Officers of the city of Lucretianapolis shall be the first Tuesday after the first Monday in October and the second Tuesday after the second Monday in February.

## SECTION 2. Registration of Voters.

All voters must have registered seven days before the day of election named above. All prospective voters must be in the departmental grades and must have reasonably good marks in effort and in his or her several studies.

## SECTION 3. Ballot.

The Australian ballot will be used in future elections to be held in the city of Lucretianapolis.

**SECTION 4. Counting of Votes.**

Officials appointed by their respective parties shall preside over voting and shall count the votes. They will return the total as soon as counted.

**SECTION 5. Registration Officials.**

There shall be one official from each party at each voting booth, to see that each prospective voter is properly registered and is a legal voter.

This was an effort toward self-government which came from the classes in history and civics.

Voters in the new school city were required to register by filling out registration blanks.

For the election of officers a primary election took place, campaign speeches were made in the various rooms, campaign placards were made and posted.

A week later the final election took place. One of the leading boys was elected Mayor, together with the following officers :

Sixteen Councilmen, eleven by their respective districts, five others being Councilmen-at-large, elected by all the voters of the city.

The City Controller.

City Clerk.

Secretary of the Board of Health.

The Board of Education, five members.

The City Council meets every Thursday at 3 o'clock. Each room in the building is allowed to have a delegate who may attend the Council meetings (without a vote) to make known its needs and conditions. Each week the Council hears reports from some of the Boards.

Upon taking office the Mayor appointed the following Boards :

Board of Safety.

Board of Public Works.

Park Board.

Board of Health.

In making these appointments the Mayor consulted the teacher to learn whether the pupils appointed were eligible and sufficiently responsible.

The first Mayor received and signed twelve ordinances which had been passed by the City Council. These forbade, among other things, the riding of bicycles in the school yard ; trespass by the boys on the girls' yard ; the use of the fire escape without the teacher's consent ; the wearing of skates within the school city limits ; riding a wheel

to school without a license; citizens walking on the sidewalks in groups of more than two; requiring all citizens to keep to the right in the halls and on the stairways. One ordinance the Mayor refused to sign until it had been amended. It forbade snowballing to and from school, and as this legislation applied to conduct outside of the city's jurisdiction, the Mayor vetoed it. When the ordinance was made to apply only to the school building and grounds, it received the Mayor's sanction.

The City Controller reported that he had issued 22 licenses to persons wishing to ride their wheels to school; these he kept on file with the number and date of each license. Before one may have a permit he must show that he lives at least five blocks from the school. After the passage of this law there were not nearly so many wheels ridden to school. Luncheon permits were also required.

At a Council meeting the President of the Board of Education (five members elected by the people) reported that, in some of the schoolrooms, the desks of the children were kept in a disorderly fashion, and that during recitations, books would often fall from the desks to the floor. The Board discussed this problem and it ruled that a mark should be put on every desk whose books were out of order. When a mark appears on a desk, that means to clean up. Any citizen whose desk has been marked more than twice will be brought before the Board and taught how his desk and books should be kept. This Board also attends to keeping papers and rubbish off the floors and the wraps properly hung in the lockers. The members of this Board also distribute the weekly magazines to the various rooms and deliver them back to the city hall for filing and safe keeping.

The President of the Board of Safety reported on traffic regulations and the appointment of traffic officers, boys and girls having charge of stairways, halls, and basements at recess and dismissals.

The President of the Park Board reported that the school grounds were divided into three parts, with a member of the Board in charge of each part. This Board attended to beautifying the grounds and keeping the yard free from paper and rubbish.

The President of the Board of Health reported on its work of seeing to the heat and ventilation of the rooms and the care of the milk and crackers brought to the school for luncheons, seeing that the milk was sweet and properly distributed to the rooms and that the bottles and pails were properly cleaned. Inspectors were appointed, a boy from each room assigned to look after the windows, and another boy to see to the windows in the hall. There was legislation against staying in at recess. Children were urged to go out for fresh air and for open air play.

The Chairman of the *Recreation Department* (under the Board of Health) reported that the boys and girls were divided into teams for play, ten teams for the girls and fourteen for the boys, and that every week a new schedule is arranged.

The *Board of Public Works* (five members appointed by the Mayor) has charge of the street cleaning department. An inspector and two helpers are appointed for each room. These street cleaners are to see that the rooms are kept clean. Three boys have charge of the halls. Five have the care of the desks, to repair them if they are broken. Other boys are to see to the blinds when the school has a motion picture exhibition. Great improvement has come about since this Board has taken charge.

A suggestion was made that some of the Board members should visit the Mayor of Indianapolis and the City Hall. They talked to the Mayor and the Chief of Police and were shown through the city offices. The Director of the Recreation Department offered to instruct the pupils in the work of his Department, and the children learned how the directors and supervisors of games and plays did their work in a real city. Other departments of the city government were also visited and inspected. Thus, the children learned by seeing how a real city government works and in their school city they put their knowledge into real practice.





## INDEX

- Accidents, 424
- Adams, John, 64
- Adams, Samuel, 63, 288
- Agricultural bloc, 436
- Agricultural college, 143
- Agricultural education, 429-431
- Agricultural experiment stations, 143
- Agricultural extension clubs, 433, 437
- Agriculture, Department of, 96, 143, 269, 311, 312, 430, 437; State boards, 439; experiment stations, 441; extension work, 441
- Airplane, 237
- Akron, Ohio, 57
- Alaska, 255, 257, 369
- Albany, N. Y., 390
- Alien and Sedition Act, 343
- Alien Contract Labor Law, 219
- Aliens, 218, 367, 368
- Ambassadors, 308
- Amending a bill, 264
- Amendments of U. S. Constitution, 292-294
- American Federation of Labor, 209
- American Patriotic League, 455
- American Revolution, 120, 185, 383
- Americanization, 225, 227, 399
- Anti-Masons, 351
- Appellate courts, 277. See Courts
- Apportionment act, 323
- Appropriations, 338
- Arbitration, 214
- Arizona, 257
- Arizona*, battleship, 310
- Assemblies, colonial, 57; representative, 58, 59
- Assessor, 197
- Assistance clause, 362
- Association of Employers, 211
- Atlantic cable, 239
- Attorney, county, 62
- Auditor, county, 61
- Automobile, license, 186, 204
- Bacteria, 434
- Ballot box, 359
- Ballots, 361, 363
- Banks, 76, 77, 171, 173, 177, 178, 429. See National banks
- Barter, 152
- Basic industries, 213
- Bathing beaches, 98
- Bill, in Congress, 330, 331-337
- Bill of Attainder, 373, 374
- Bill of Rights, 258, 292, 372, 373
- Birthday group, 14
- Blind, education of, 113 sqq.; 118
- Bloc, in Congress, 328; agricultural, 436
- Bobbies, 130
- Bonds, 195
- Bosses, 409
- Boys' clubs, 431
- Braille, Louis, 114
- Braille system, 114
- Bridgman, Laura, 116

- British America, 217
- Budget, 85-87
- Bullion, 162
- Bunyan, John, 120
- Bureau of Education, U. S., 43
- Bureau of Standards, 151
- Burgesses, House of, 57, 58
- Burnham, Daniel H., 419
- Buying and selling, 145 sqq.
- Cabinet of the president, 306 sqq.
- Cain, 18
- California, gold discovery, 53; early government in, 54, 369
- Campfire girls, 107
- Canals, 237
- Capital, 78, 201, 203
- Capitol, U. S., 291
- Caucus, congressional, 328; legislative and nominating, 354
- Census, 313
- Chautauquas, 428
- Checks, bank, use of, 172, 174, 175
- Chicago fire, 117, 137
- Child labor, 71
- Church, 27, 33
- Cities, classes of, 265, 406; twelve largest, 395; growth of, 395, 396, 416; problems of, 397-400; street cleaning in, 400, 401; and public utilities, 402; water supply for, 405; home rule in, 407; forms of government in, 408; officers of, 408, 409; defects in government of, 409; commission form of government in, 410-412; zoning in, 418; beautifying, 417-420; safeguarding life in, 420-424; coöperation in city traffic, 422-424
- Citizen, ceremony of becoming, 230; and the state, 259; rights of, 276
- Citizenship, oath of, 229; rights and duties, 367 sqq.; definition, 367; of children, 368; of women, 369; transferred, 369; interstate, 373; duties, 380; theory and practice, 454
- "City beautiful," 417, 419
- City manager, 413, 415
- City planning, 415
- City transportation, 245
- Civic conscience, 455
- Civic ideals, 5
- Civics, defined, 4, 5
- Civil community, 53 sqq.
- Civil government, 53-55; beginnings of, in America, 58, 59
- Civil service, 313
- Civil service commission, 313, 314
- Civil service reform, 314
- Civil War, 290, 293, 375, 384, 387
- Civilization, 199, 233
- Clan. See Tribe
- Cleanliness, 95
- Clerk, county, 61
- Closed shop, 212
- Coal, 212, 213
- Coinage, debasing, 159
- Collective bargaining, 212
- Colonies, made into states, 59, 281, 282
- Colonists, Virginian, 21
- Columbia University, 38
- Commandments, 32
- Commerce, 312
- Commission form of government, 410-412
- Commissioner of Education, 43
- Commissioners, county, 61
- Commissions, 249, 250
- Committee on rules, 327

- Committees, in legislation, 264, 266
- Common school fund, 40
- Communication, 233 sqq.; recent, 239
- Community fireplace, 107
- Community life, coöperation, 5 sqq.; rule of, 9; growth toward settled conditions, 19; burdens of, 111 sqq.; and crime, 116 sqq.; protection of, 129 sqq.; markets, 153; and taxes, 181 sqq.; industry in, 199; national, 281 sqq.; loyalty to, 380, 381; city, 395 sqq.; rural, 427 sqq.
- Community of nations, 392
- Community planning, 417
- Community spirit, 2 sqq.
- Confederation, Articles of, 282, 283
- Confederation, Congress of, 257
- Conference committee, 337
- Congress, powers of, 287. See Senate and House
- Congressional districts, 323
- Congressional Record, 336
- Congressional township, 40, 64
- Connecticut, 59
- Consolidated schools, 445-447
- Constitution, U. S., growth of, 281 sqq., 292; amending, 284, 292-294; powers under, 285, 286; character of, 287-291; interpretation of, 343; guarantees of, 372
- Constitutional convention, 1787, 284, 285
- Constitutions, of states, 258
- Continental Congress, 281
- Conventions, 354
- Coöperation, 3, 5 sqq.; 204; in city traffic, 422-424
- Coöperative marketing, 437, 443
- Cornwallis, 282
- Coroner, county, 61
- Cotton gin, 205, 207, 208
- Counties, 58, 60
- Country schools, 446-453
- County agent, system, 435, 436, 437
- County officers, 61, 62
- County superintendent of schools, 450
- Court of claims, 339, 340
- Court of customs appeals, 339
- Courthouses, 115
- Courts, 131; and court proceedings, 272-277; federal, 339
- Credit, 170, 171, 173
- Crime and criminals, 116 sqq.; kinds of, 121; extent of, 121, 122; causes of, 122 sqq.; waves, 124; treatment of, 124; professional, 126; record of, 134
- Crimes, national and state, 260
- Crop rotation, 434
- Crusoe, Robinson, 4, 5, 201
- Customs duty, 187
- Customs inspectors, 187
- Dairy commissioners, 439
- Dartmouth college, 40
- Dayton, Ohio, 413
- Dead Letter Office, 243
- Deaf and dumb, 113 sqq.
- Debs, Eugene V., 376
- Declaration of Independence, 32, 282
- Defectives, 112 sqq.
- Democracy, 387-389
- Demonstration agents, 430
- Denver, Col., 400
- Departments of government, 285
- Des Moines, plan of city government, 411, 412

- Detectives, 131  
 Detroit, safety campaign, 420, 422  
 Disease, 27, 92-101  
 Divorce, 26  
 Dixie Highway, 252  
 Dollar, stable and honest, 157, 158; standard, 161  
 Domestic science, 41  
 Earning a living, 67; and good government, 87, 88  
 Education, 269, 270, 389, 390; agricultural, 397-399. See School community  
 Elections, corruption in, 362  
 Electoral college, 299, 300, 377  
 Ellis Island, 218  
 Eminent domain, 376  
 Enabling act, for territory, 256  
 Entomologists, 441  
 Epidemic, danger of, 94  
 Esch-Cummins Act, 250, 251  
 Escheats, 194  
 Exchange of goods, 146, 147, 149  
 Excise tax, 192  
 Executive departments. See Cabinet  
 Expatriation, 368  
 Experiment stations, agricultural, 441  
 Ex post facto laws, 373  
 Factories, 207  
 Family, 13 sqq.; unit in society, 15. See Home community  
 Farm bureau, 436  
 Farm life, 428 sqq., 439 sqq., 444, 445, 453  
 Farm loans, 429  
 Farmer-Labor party, 351  
 Farmer, service of, 439  
 Farmers' Alliance, 435  
 Farmers' Institutes, 442  
 Federal Loan System, 429  
 Federal Reserve Act, 168  
 Federal Reserve Board, 170, 437, 438  
 Federal Reserve notes, 167, 169  
 Federal Reserve System, 167, 168  
 Feeble-minded, 115  
 Fertilizers, 399, 401, 432  
 Fifteenth Amendment, 377  
 Filibustering, 334  
 Fines, 194  
 Fire companies, 138  
 Fire fighting, 133; state aid, 137; 138, 139  
 Fire insurance, 136  
 Fire marshal, 136  
 Fire prevention day, 137  
 Fire protection, 134 sqq., 398, 454  
 Floods, 142  
 Florida, 255, 369  
 Food inspection, 95, 96  
 Food tests, 99  
 Forest fires, 140, 141  
 Forest rangers, 141  
 Forestry boards, 440  
 Forests, 202  
 Forfeits, 194  
 Fourteenth Amendment, 377  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 74, 75, 78, 284, 288  
 Free delivery. See Postal service  
 Free soldiers, 351  
 Freedom of speech, 370, 372  
 Frontier homes, 21, 23  
 Fugitive slave law, 120  
 Gadsden Purchase, 255  
 Galveston plan, 410-412  
 Gambling, 69, 70, 454



- Garbage, 102  
 "Gateway amendment," 294  
 George III, 185  
 Gerrymander, 324  
 Gettysburg address, 386  
 Gill, Wilson L., 455  
 Gold certificates, 165  
 Gold, price of, 162  
 Gold standard, 161  
 Government, reasons for, 31;  
     burdens of, 111 sqq.; 181 sqq.;  
     and taxes, 186; growing ex-  
     penses of, 195, 196; enlarging  
     powers of, 214; departments  
     of, 285; of cities, 396-400  
 Governor, of state, 258, 266-268,  
     272, 325  
 Graft, 131, 197  
 Grand Canyon, 108  
 Grandfather clause, 378  
 Grange, 434  
 Great Britain and the colonies,  
     281  
 Greenbackers, 351  
 Greenbacks, 161, 165, 287, 346  
  
 Habeas corpus, 374; suspension  
     of, 375  
 Habits, 123  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 288  
 Harding, President, 241, 390, 392  
 Harvard, 34, 38  
 Hawaii, 257  
 Health boards, 94, 269, 271  
 Health, in the community, 70,  
     91-103  
 Henry, Patrick, 57, 383  
 Heredity, 122  
 Herrin, Ill., 260  
 Highway Commission, 271  
 Home community, 13 sqq.; rights  
     and duties in, 13 sqq.; loyalty  
     to, 14; government of, 15;  
     struggle for civilized, 19; edu-  
     cation in, 24; dangers to, 26  
     sqq.  
 Home ownership, decline of, 26  
 Honesty, 80-85  
 Hopkins, Mark, 44  
 Horticulture, 439  
 Hospitals, 94  
 House Office Building, 324  
 House of Representatives, 323  
     sqq.; how elected, 324; sala-  
     ries, vacancies, privileges, 325;  
     officers, 326; speaker, 327;  
     committee system, 329, 332;  
     powers, 332; conduct of, 333;  
     calendar, 333; committee of  
     whole, 333, 334; conference  
     committee, 337  
 Howe, Samuel G., 116  
  
 Ideals, national, 383 sqq.  
 Illinois, legislature, 388; farm,  
     396  
 Immigrant, problem of, 217 sqq.  
 Immigration, early, 217; Irish  
     and German, 217; opposition  
     to, 218; since the Civil War,  
     219; restrictions on, 219;  
     changes in, 219; literacy test,  
     219; recent, 220; benefits of,  
     224; and cheap labor, 225;  
     Bureau of, 227  
 Impeachment, 306, 320  
 Imperialism, 369  
 Implied powers, 287  
 Imports, 187  
 Income tax, 186, 193-195, 294  
 Independence Hall, 284  
 Indeterminate sentence, 126  
 Indian corn, 19  
 Indians, 19, 20, 22, 55  
 Industrial revolution, 205, 215  
 Inheritance tax, 193

- Insane, 115  
 Insurance policy, 87  
 Insurgents, 328  
 International court of justice, 392  
 Interstate commerce commission, 250  
 Inventions, effect on labor, 205
- Jackson, Andrew, 347  
 Jamestown, Virginia, 58  
 Jay, John, 288  
 "Jay-walking," 423  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 288, 343, 353  
 Johnson, Andrew, 305  
 Judges, election of, 277. See Courts  
 Judiciary, 339 sqq.; appointments to, 340; of states, 273-277  
 Jukes family, 123  
 Jungle, law of, 4  
 Juries, grand, 274; petit, 275  
 Jury commissioners, 275  
 Jury trial, 371, 372  
 Justice of the Peace, 277  
 Justices of the Supreme Court, 341
- Kallikak family, 116  
 Kansas Fair, 146  
 Keller, Helen, 116  
 King, Rufus, 288  
 Kitchen, colonial, 16; modern, 17  
 Know-nothings, 218, 351
- Labor, influence of, 117; respect for, 119, 200, 203; early implements, 204; cheap, 207; wages, 208; unions, 209; strike, 209, 312; rural, 427  
 Labor and capital, 119 sqq.; 207; conflicts between, 209-212; conciliation between, 214
- Labor saving machinery, 205  
 Labor unions, 209  
 Law, of home and society, 17, 18; conditions without, 19, 29; and order, 29, 30; violation of, 117; obedience, 120; kinds of, in America, 344  
 Laws, how made, 262-266, 333  
 League of Nations, 390, 392  
 Legal tender, 157  
 Liberty bell, 383  
 Liberty party, 351  
 Licenses, 194  
 Lincoln highway, 252  
 Lincoln, President, 172, 305, 347, 353, 375, 385  
 Linotype machine, 246  
 Liquor habit, 123  
 Literacy test for immigrants, 219  
 Live stock, 433, 441  
 Living together, 1, 4  
 Loans and discounts, 177, 178  
 Lobby, 263  
 Local government, 53 sqq., 59 sqq., 65  
 Lockout, 215  
 Locomotive, 236  
 Log-rolling, 338  
 Longfellow, 235  
 Louisiana, 58, 369; purchase, 255  
 Lynch law, 54, 65
- Machine, party, 353  
 Madison, James, 38, 284, 288, 343  
 Main Street, 25  
 Mann, Horace, 38  
 Manual training, 39  
 Marconi, 241  
 Markets, 148, 153  
 Marshall, John, 288, 343, 344, 347

- Marshall, Thomas R., 316  
 "Mayflower" compact, 56  
 Mayor, of cities, 408  
 Melting pot, 220, 221  
 Merit system, 314  
 Mexican cessions, 255, 369  
 Middle West, 65  
 Military government, 55  
 Militia, 267, 371, 372  
 Mining, 212  
 Mint, U. S., 166, 167, 287  
 Modern amusements, 27  
 Money, 152 sqq.; nature of, 153;  
     demand for, 154, 157; as a  
     measure of value, 155; relation  
     to prices, 155; legal tender,  
     157; creature of law, 158;  
     regulating supply, 158; gold  
     and silver, 159, 165; sub-  
     stances used as, 159; paper,  
     159-161; depreciated, 160;  
     kinds of, 165-166, 287  
 Monopoly, 248, 249  
 Morris, Robert, 288  
 Movies, 28  
 Museums, 400  
  
 Nation, beginning and growth of,  
     281 sqq.; supreme power of,  
     286, 292  
 National bank notes, 166, 167  
 National banks, 166, 167. See  
     Banks  
 National guard, 309  
 National nominating conventions,  
     355-357  
 National Safety council, 424  
 National Thrift Week, 74  
 National unity, 290  
 Natural resources, 200, 203  
 Naturalization, 222, 223, 367  
 Navy, 310  
 Negro suffrage, 294  
  
 Neighborhood, 28-30  
 Neighborhood circus, 8  
 New England, 63-65  
 New Mexico, 257  
 News and newspapers, 241, 244,  
     246, 247  
 Nitrates, 432  
 Northwest territory, 40  
  
 Oath of loyalty, 380, 381  
 Occupation, benefits of, 71, 72  
 Ocean liner, 237  
 Open shop, 212  
 Ordinance of 1787, 50  
 Organized farmers, 434, 436, 437  
 Otis, James, 64  
  
 Panama Canal, 310  
 Panics, causes of, 170; prevent-  
     ing, 171  
 Parcels post, 240  
 Pardoning power, of governor,  
     268; of president, 305  
 Parent-teacher associations, 28,  
     45  
 Parks and playgrounds, 106-108  
 Parole, 126  
 Parties, 349 sqq.; definition of,  
     349; divisions, 350; major and  
     minor, 351; beginnings of, 351;  
     democratic and republican,  
     351; historic differences, 352;  
     organization of, 352, 353; cau-  
     cuses and conventions, 328,  
     354-357  
 Party leadership, 268  
 Pasteurizing, 440  
 Patriarch, rule of, 15  
 Penal farms, 127  
 Pennies, making, 166  
 Pennsylvania, legislature, 258;  
     state police, 267  
 Penny postage, 241

- Philadelphia, 407, 416
- Philippines, 257, 369
- Pig contest, 430
- Pilgrim fathers, 21, 56, 58
- Pioneers, life of, 21, 23, 29, 55
- Pittsburgh, 397
- Platform, 352
- Play, part of education, 103-105
- Plymouth colony, 20, 58
- Pocket veto, 337
- Police, 129 sqq.; services of, 132; state, 267
- Police powers, 134
- Police System, 398
- Political issues, 349
- Poor, care of, 111
- "Poor Richard," 74
- Population, of U. S., character of, 219, 220; 384
- Populists, 351
- "Pork" and "Pie," 338
- Porto Rico, 257, 369
- Post Office Department, 245
- Postal service, 241-243
- Poverty, 26; extent of, 111, 399
- President, 297 sqq.; term, 297; qualifications, 298; method of election, 298-300; in the White House, 299; powers of, 300-305; inauguration, 302; message, 303; succession to, 305; impeachment of, 305; cabinet of, 306 sqq.; and the civil service, 313, 314; and senatorial courtesy, 319; veto of, 337
- Presidential campaign, 360
- Presidential election, 361
- Presidential electors, 299, 300, 360
- Presidential succession, 305, 306
- Primaries, 357
- Princeton College, 40
- Printing press, 205, 246, 247
- Prison labor, 126
- Prisons, 119; reform, 125
- Profit sharing, 215
- Prohibition, 120, 294
- Prohibitionists, 351
- Property, protection of, 142, 143; classifying, 188; real and personal, 197
- Protest, 412
- Public corruption, 130
- Public health nurse, 101
- Public schools, 227
- Public Service Commission, 249
- Public utilities, 248, 269, 402
- Pure Food Act, 96
- Quincy, Josiah, 64
- Quincy, Mass., market, 153
- Quorum, 264, 317, 335
- Radio, 240
- Railroads, situation of, 250
- Railway Labor Board, 251
- Recall, 412
- Reclamation, 311
- Reconstruction acts, 294, 377
- Recorder, county, 61
- Recreation, in the community, 91, 102-108
- Reed, Thomas B., speaker, 335, 353
- Referendum, 377, 412
- Regional banks, 169
- Religion, freedom of, 370, 372
- Revolution, right of, 388, 389
- Rhode Island, 59
- Rights of accused, 276
- Riis, Jacob A., 140
- Roads, good and bad, 190, 191, 233; building, 238; benefits, 239, 270, 413
- Rochester, N. Y., 229
- Royal governor, 59
- Rubbish collection, 96

- Rural community, 427 sqq.  
 Rural delivery. See Postal service
- Safe deposit vault, 177
- Safety Campaign in cities, 420-424
- St. Louis, 395
- Sales tax, 193
- San José scale, 439
- Sanitary barn, 442
- Sanitary boards, 440
- "Scabs," 210
- School bank, 73
- School bus, 415
- School community, 33 sqq.; old teachers, 33; early schools, 35; uniform schools, 37; civic purpose of the school, 37, 50; education by the state, 38, 42; compulsory education, 38; U. S. government and, 40; High Schools, 40; night school, 42; continuation school, 43; vocational education, 43, 44, 48; support for schools, 44, 51; making the most of school, 45; loyalty to the school, 46; school activities, 47; aim of the school, 48; spirit of the school, 49, 390; consolidated schools, 445-447, 451. See Education
- School nurse, 106
- School plays, 41, 102-105
- School republic, 454, 455
- School revenues, 452
- School self-government, 454, 455
- School trustee, 449
- School unit, 449
- Schools, county supervision of, 450; courses of study in, 452
- Self-government, 452; in school, 454, 455
- Senate, and Senators of U. S., 315 sqq.; qualifications of, 315; classes of, 315; pages, 316; officers of, 317; powers of, 317, 318; executive session, 318; chamber, 318; courtesy of, 319; office building, 320; importance of, 320; state representation in, 321
- Senatorial courtesy, 319
- Sheriff, county, 61
- Sheriff's sale, 185
- Sherman, Roger, 64, 288
- Shippers, 250
- Short ballot, 278
- "Shorthorns," 441
- Silent cop, 10
- Silk mill, 149
- Silver certificates, 165
- Silver coinage, 161
- Slums, city, 100, 101
- Smith-Hughes act, 43
- Socialist party, 351
- Soil, care of, 431-435
- S O S call, 240
- Speaker, powers of, 327, 328, 334
- Spending habits, 78, 79
- Spinning room, modern, 206
- Spinning wheel, 205
- Spoils system, 314
- Springfield, Ill., 182
- Stamp Act, 120
- Standard of living, 208
- State department, 289
- State rights, 290
- States, 255 sqq.; origin of, 255; differences in, 257; government of, 257-259; legislatures, 258, 261, 272; functions of, 259-260; police of, 267; officers of, 268, 269; and education, 269, 270; and health, 271; boards and commissions of,



- 269, 272; and highways, 271;
- judiciary of, 273-277; im-
- provements in, 278; early
- supremacy of, 283
- Steam engine, 205
- Street cleaning, 99
- Street Traffic, 398
- Strikes, 209-212
- Subsidiary, coins, 165
- Suffrage, negro, 294, 377; woman,
- 294; 378; 325; qualifications
- for, 377, 379; restrictions on,
- 378
- Superintendent of schools, county,
- 62
- Supreme Court of State, 272, 273
- Supreme Court of U.S., 289, 292;
- cases in, 340, 341; national-
- izing influence of, 343; appeals
- to, 342, 343; and politics, 343,
- 345; control of, 346; high
- character of, 346
- Supreme law, 286
- Suspended sentence, 125
- 
- Taney, Chief Justice, 347
- Tariffs, 191, 192
- Tax ferrets, 189
- Taxes, reasons for, 181 sqq., 189;
- how distributed, 182, 183;
- complaints over, 184; delin-
- quent, 184, 185; principles of
- levying, 188; farming of, 189;
- forms of, 189, 190; general
- property tax, 190; direct and
- indirect, 189, 190, 191; excise,
- 192; income and inheritance,
- 193; sales, 193; graduated,
- 193; license, 194; limitations
- on, 195; exemptions from, 195;
- delinquent, 415
- Team work, 2, 9, 10, 278
- Telegraph, 239
- Telephone, 239, 240
- Tenant farming, 443
- Territories, admission, 255; or-
- ganizing, 255, 256; policy on,
- 257
- "Third house," 263
- Thrift, 72-79, 178
- Town meeting, 56, 63
- Township, 63
- Township trustee, 44, 449, 450,
- 454
- Transportation, 233 sqq.; prog-
- ress in, 234; by water, 235;
- changes in, 236; hardships of,
- 237; in cities, 245, 399, 402,
- 403; control of, 248
- Travel, lack of, 233, 234; modern,
- 238
- Travelers' Aid Society, 245
- Treasurer, county, 61
- Treasury notes, 165
- Trials, in court, 273-277
- Tribe, 15, 20
- Twain, Mark, 33
- Tyler, John, 305
- 
- Unemployment, 123
- Union of the states, 59; forma-
- tion of, 281-285; 384
- Unity, national, 384
- Universities, state, 34, 40; and
- colleges, 38
- Utah, capitol, 256
- 
- Valley Forge, 391
- Ventilation, 95
- Veto, of governor, 266; presi-
- dential, 337
- Vice President, 305, 320
- Vigilance committees, 54
- Virginia and Kentucky resolu-
- tions, 343
- Vocational schools, 431

- Voting machines, 359  
 Voting, method of, 358, 359;  
     secret, 362; as a privilege, 377-  
     379  
 Wages, 208; scale of, 212  
 War of 1812, 368  
 Washing machine, 444  
 Washington, George, 284, 288, 391  
 Washington Conference, 392  
 Waste, 73  
 Water supply, 98, 100, 405  
 Watered stock, 249  
 Ways and Means Committee, 328,  
     329  
 Weather Bureau, 144, 311  
 Weather map, 143  
 Webster, Daniel, 387  
 Weights and measures, 147 sqq.;  
     primitive, 150; standards, 151  
 West Point, 82  
 Wheel, 235  
 Whip, in Congress, 329  
 White House, 299  
 Whitney, Eli, 207  
 William and Mary, 34, 38  
 Wilson, James, 288  
 Wilson, President, 390  
 Wireless. See Radio  
 Woman suffrage, 294  
 World peace, 389  
 World War, 390, 392  
 Yale, 34, 38  
 Yellowstone Park, 108  
 Yorktown, 282  
 Yosemite Valley, 108  
 Zoning, city, 418

















# 150



